

# Miners' democracy enrages coal bosses

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APRIL 24, 1981 75 CENTS VOLUME 45/NUMBER 15

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Rail unions  
mobilize  
to protest  
cutbacks  
**April 29**

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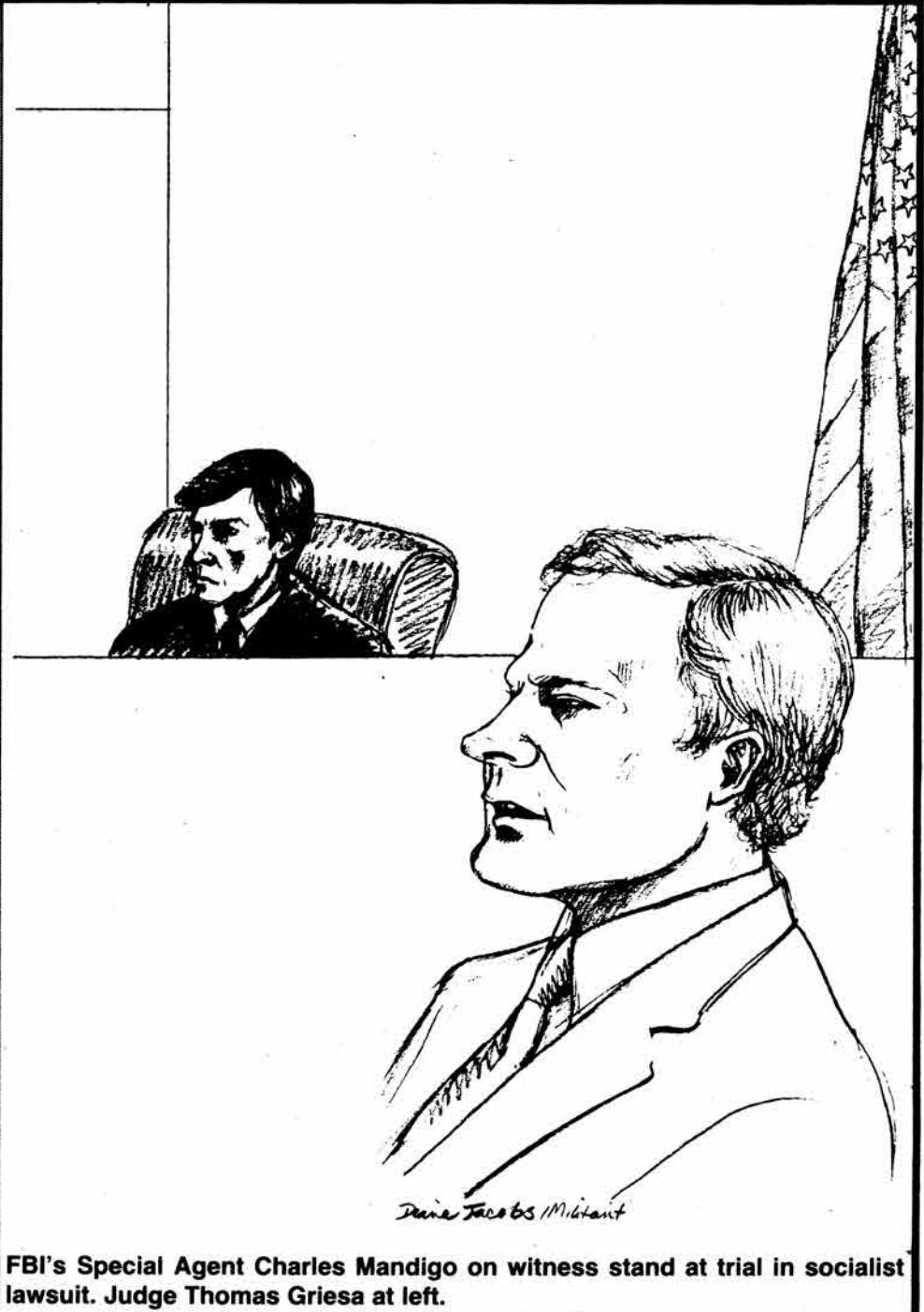
El Salvador  
massacres  
unravel  
**State Dept. lies**

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Gov't spying on trial

FBI concocts  
'secret'  
document  
to smear  
socialists

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FBI's Special Agent Charles Mandigo on witness stand at trial in socialist lawsuit. Judge Thomas Griesa at left.

## Support May 3 march: no aid to El Salvador!

Fifteen hundred Salvadoran peasants were massacred in early April by Salvadoran and Honduran troops.

This slaughter is being funded by our tax dollars as the Reagan administration continues to pump military and economic aid to the Salvadoran junta.

The march on Washington called for May 3 will demand an end to U.S. aid. It can be a powerful answer to Washington's war policies.

Support is broadening for the action. On April 12, the *New York Times* carried a three-quarter page ad in support of May 3. The ad was placed by the Religious Task Force of Mobilization for Survival.

Signers included Coretta Scott King, Bella Abzug, Dr. George Wald, Gloria Steinem, Rep. Ron Dellums, and Rev. William Sloane Coffin.

"Increasing military aid to El Salvador is a step toward another Vietnam," the ad warned. "Once again we are arming a government of oligarchy, repression, terror. The opposing forces are supported by a broad coalition of church leaders, trade unionists, educators, peasants, students."

The ad urged everyone to "join the crowd and march on Washington May 3rd to say: Money for human needs, not for military machines. No arms to El Salvador."

Organizations such as Mobilization for Survival, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, National Coalition Against Registration and the Draft, and People's Anti-War Mobilization have launched a vigorous effort around the country to bring as many people as possible to Washington for May 3. A permit for the march has been obtained.

In addition to demanding U.S. hands off El Salvador, the demonstration will call for stopping the draft and racist violence and repression.

The growing support for May 3 is a sign of deep opposition to Washington's war aims.

On April 11 more than 200 people turned out

on Minnesota's Iron Range for a rally in solidarity with El Salvador, sponsored by United Steelworkers Local 1938 and other groups (see page 28).

In San Jose 106 trade union officials have formed a Labor Committee on El Salvador, another important example of the role the unions are playing.

A large May 3 action can deal a further blow to the Pentagon's plans. We think the demonstration deserves the full support of Salvador solidarity groups, the antidraft movement, and the labor movement.

May 3 occurs in the midst of other actions challenging Reagan's prowar, antilabor, racist policies.

The striking coal miners, in their battle for a decent contract, are standing up for all working people. They deserve the widest solidarity possible.

Railroad unions have called for a march on Washington and other cities for April 29 to protest cutbacks in Conrail and Amtrak.

And on May 25, demonstrators will again come to Washington to protest the killing of Black children in Atlanta.

A big turnout May 3 against Reagan's aid to the Salvador junta will boost the struggle around all these issues.

## Space shuttle

The flight of the space shuttle Columbia demonstrates great advances in the technology of rocketry and space travel. All parts of the spacecraft will be reusable, with the exception of tanks that carried fuel for the main rocket engines.

In space the Columbia functioned as an orbiting spaceship. Back in the earth's atmosphere, it became a powerless glider, landing much like an airplane.

Space shuttle technology will eventually make possible orbiting laboratories where scientific experiments can be conducted under conditions of zero gravity. Vast new possibilities for medicine, agriculture and industry will be opened up. Our knowledge of the cosmos will be greatly expanded.

Columbia's flight would have been impossible without government sponsorship. No private corporation would have invested the ten billion dollars necessary for the venture. But the U.S. government was not motivated by possibilities for the advance of science and human well-being.

The Pentagon wants the space shuttle so it

can put more spy satellites into orbit. The generals dream of militarized space stations that will give them a first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union. They see outer space as a potential theater for their profession—war. These madmen dream that the shuttle will be a step toward being able to "win" a nuclear conflict.

Even the shuttle's design reflected the Pentagon's needs. Its stubby wings force the craft to descend very rapidly, greatly increasing the danger to the astronauts. The design was intended to minimize chances that the Columbia would fall into the hands of another country. The U.S. government is out to monopolize its new technology as long as possible, even at the cost of astronauts' lives.

The profit-hungry government contractors that built the Columbia and its rocket engines are likewise unconcerned with human life.

On March 19, five Rockwell technicians were injured in an accident during the prelaunch rehearsal. Exposed to a pure nitrogen atmosphere, one died almost immediately, and another two weeks later. According to survivors, an all-clear signal had been given. Despite the lack of safety procedures that led to the tragedy, the countdown hardly missed a beat.

In February, members of International Association of Machinists Local 2061, who worked on the shuttle at Cape Canaveral, were forced to strike by Boeing. The company demanded that cost-of-living adjustments and other hard-won benefits be dropped. It made a wage offer that amounted to a 6 percent cut in real wages. This is how the bosses reward workers whose labor makes spaceflight possible.

What a crying contradiction! On one hand, we have the Pentagon and Boeing hallucinating about winning nuclear wars and lining their pockets at the expense of workers. On the other, vast and unexploited possibilities to expand knowledge, health, and living standards through science.

Under capitalism, science and technology become generators of poverty and death. A country that is capable of building the Columbia is incapable of ending unemployment, poverty, and the decay of cities. Reagan pushes ahead with brutal cuts in mass transit, food stamps, and unemployment insurance, while pouring ever greater resources into war preparations.

The capitalist system, which turns science and technology into instruments for the destruction of humanity, must be replaced by socialism. A government of working people, and production for human needs instead of profit, will make it possible to use space shuttle technology for human well-being rather than for human extermination.

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### Big issues in union election

Three candidates for director of Steelworkers District 33, which includes Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Range, debated before a meeting of the largest local, 1938. The debate ranged from the right to vote on contracts to U.S. backing for El Salvador.

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### The Militant

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Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the *Militant* (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

# Coal union president: 'Ranks have spoken'

By Stu Singer

Negotiations on the 1981 contract between the Bituminous Coal Operators Association and the United Mine Workers of America resumed April 14.

In a March 31 vote the 160,000 miners covered by the contract decisively rejected the first proposal by more than two to one after reading and discussing its provisions.

The union's international executive board and the bargaining council both unanimously passed resolutions April 9 and 10 giving "a vote of confidence to the union's negotiating team."

In a statement released by the UMWA headquarters in Washington, union President Sam Church said: "In the union's democratic process, the rank and file have spoken. We had several mandates from the convention that the negotiating team carried out to the best of its ability. It now appears that we have received an additional mandate from the membership."

"I said I thought the tentative contract we worked out with the industry was a good one. That was my honest opinion."

"But the only opinion in this union that really matters is that of the membership."

"The people in my union have spoken. And I fully intend to do everything in my power to carry their voice to the bargaining table with me."

But respect for the decision of the ranks is not shared by the coal operators.

In an April 13 article, the big-business mouthpiece, the *Wall Street Journal*, refers to the coal miners as the "UMW's rambunctious rank and file."

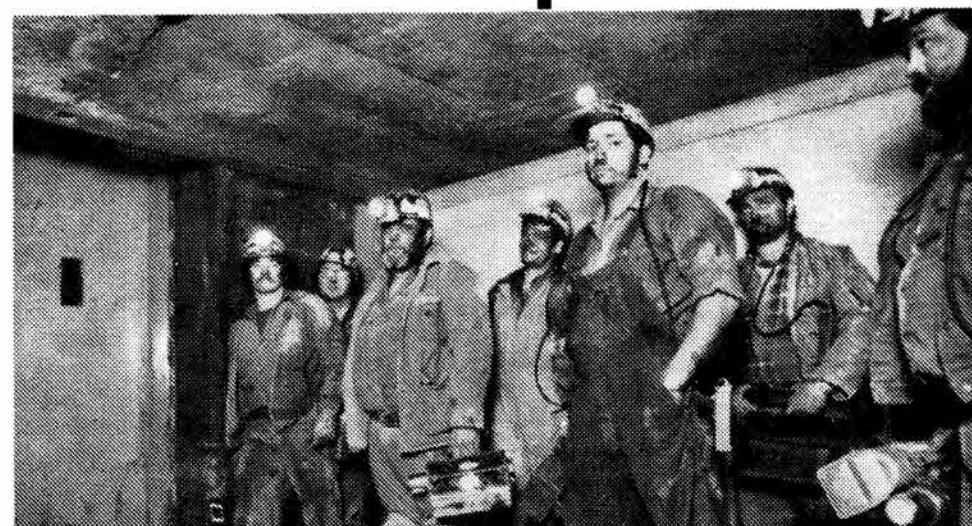
The newspaper quotes a coal executive: "We gave them a settlement too quickly."

A company bargainer says, "We have to let them know that when you make a deal, you stick to it."

The *Journal* article remarks that "negotiators aren't likely to give in easily to the union demands."

But at the same time, the newspaper helps the operators float some proposals for a new settlement.

They do it through the mouths of unnamed "union leaders" who "concede that it's likely the union will have to trade something in exchange for regaining royalty payments on nonunion coal and strengthening contract language. Some favor giving up pensions for an estimated 45,000 widows



of miners. . . . But others say members would be more likely to accept a slightly smaller wage increase."

Think about this. The coal operators and their news media denounce the miners as greedy for rejecting the first contract proposal. Then they turn around and propose cutting the \$100-a-month pension for 45,000 widows.

Who's greedy?

The coal, oil, steel, utilities, and banks that own the mines have been

getting away with murder for a long time.

But the coal miners are the toughest opponents these bosses have faced since they began their big push to roll back living standards and union rights in the mid-1970s.

The strength of the UMWA, and the support for the miners among millions outside the UMWA ranks, put them in a good position to continue their fight for a decent contract.

## Rail unions mobilize April 29 against cuts

By Stu Singer

The April 29 rail workers' protests against the plans to slash federal funds for Conrail and Amtrak continue to develop as an unprecedented show of power by the railroad unions.

Initiated by the Railway Labor Executives Association (RLEA), the idea for the demonstrations was inspired in part by the actions of the United Mine Workers in organizing the March 9 Washington demonstration against cuts in black lung benefits.

When the rail unions joined the UMWA-led March 28 antinuclear demonstration in Harrisburg, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) representative Don Sweitzer announced that BRAC president Fred Kroll had initiated a call for a demonstration in Washington April 29.

As the *Militant* goes to press, plans for April 29 include the Washington demonstration for rail workers and supporters from everywhere east of Chicago. AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland has agreed to speak at the rally.

There will also be demonstrations in Chicago, Minneapolis/St. Paul, San Francisco/Oakland, Los Angeles, Jacksonville, New Orleans, Detroit, and Lansing.

The Chicago rally has been endorsed by the Chicago Labor Federation. Letters have been sent to every union local in the area, urging support and participation. BRAC international vice president Tom Fitzgibbons, one of the main organizers of the April 29 actions, is also scheduled to speak at a protest demonstration against the pro-

jected Bailly nuclear plant April 25. Bailly is being built next to the Bethlehem Steel mill in Burns Harbor, Indiana.

Other cities where there will be rail union news conferences protesting the cuts include: Kansas City, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Atlanta, Birmingham, Dallas/Ft. Worth, Houston, Little Rock, Memphis, Butte, Denver, and Seattle.

The United Transportation Union, which organizes the operating workers, has sent letters to every member who works for Conrail about the April 29 protests. The union has also printed and mailed out two special editions of the *UTU News* to mobilize support for the actions.

The carmen's union sent out 65,000 letters on the April 29 actions to its members. The Signalmen's union sent out 18,000 letters.

In a letter specially addressed to BRAC members who do not work for Conrail, union president Fred Kroll explained the stake all rail workers have in the protests:

"... The Reagan administration and all its allies in congress have moved very swiftly to try to lock into the budget extraordinary cuts" in Conrail, Amtrak, and railroad retirement funds," he said.

"Already earmarked for repeal is the cost-of-living adjustment in railroad retirement. . . .

"The entire railroad retirement system is slated for a combination of increases in taxes to employees as well as serious cuts in employee benefits. Cuts in Amtrak are proposed in seventy-five percent of existing service,

with the resultant loss of 22,000 jobs."

Part of the cutback plan, Kroll declared, is "a \$200 million pay cut to all Conrail employees each year for a five-year period, averaging approximately \$2,500 a year. All of the proposals call for an end to employee protection of any type, giving up one week's vacation, two national holidays, and a demand that clerical employees only be paid the same as their counterparts in other industries; that their wages be permanently frozen until that parity is reached."

He pointed to the probability that these takebacks would "be used as a precedent in national negotiations. Just as Ford and General Motors workers are being asked by Reagan's people to accept the same cut as Chrysler workers, you too will probably face a similar request."

Kroll predicted "the loss of more than 70,000 current jobs" if the cuts go through. "You and I both know that the railroad retirement fund will be destroyed if one-seventh of the industry's work force lost their jobs and

were no longer paying into our pension funds."

"Immediately after the last election I said that we owed President Reagan an opportunity to prove to the American people that their trust in him was justified," Kroll continued. "I now suggest to you that he has shown that he has duped the American electorate. . . .

"All our citizens and legislators must be made aware of this injustice. Therefore as chairman of RLEA I have called a special meeting to prepare for a joint railway labor effort in this fight. I am also calling for a march on Washington of our membership to be held at Union Station in Washington, D.C., and at the U.S. Capitol for Wednesday, April 29, beginning at 11 a.m. so you can join all of us in demonstrating against these unjust cuts."

Kroll concluded with a warning: "It may indeed be necessary for us to call for a general strike sometime following this march in order to demonstrate how strongly you feel about these injustices. . . ."

## N.Y. rail workers meet

By Steve Wattenmaker

NEW YORK—Conrail and Amtrak workers jammed a Manhattan meeting hall April 11 to hear plans for the April 29 national rail march in Washington, D.C.

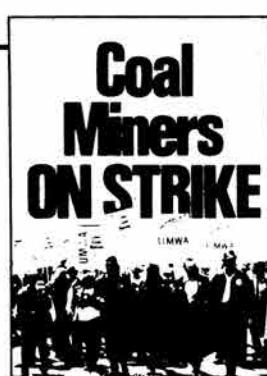
Steve Wattenmaker is a member of Sheet Metal Workers Local 396 on Conrail.

The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) initiated the gathering and invited railworkers from all other crafts to attend.

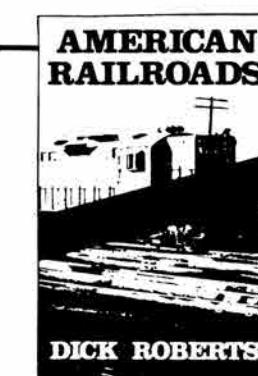
Among the 500 workers were local representatives from the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, International Association of Machinists, Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, United Transportation Union, Brother-

*Continued on page 26*

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## No union for forty-five days

By Melissa Merchant

The Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) would like to start an innovative orientation program for new employees in the mines—with no union protection. The operators slipped a forty-five day probationary period into their contract offer.

Miners overwhelmingly turned down this proposal. And it's a good thing. The coal operators wanted a thirty-day probationary period in the last UMWA contract. We forced them to drop it with the 111-day strike in 1977-78.

"As I understand this probation, it's just another push in the nonunion direction—new miners would not be covered by the union in any way for forty-five days. The union could not file a grievance for them, even if they were fired. We couldn't even help them on safety questions like we just had to do at our mine."

That's how my local union officers explained probation. It can be a matter of life and death.

Unlike most other unions, the United Mine Workers has never conceded a probationary period for new hires. From the first day you set foot underground, you're in the union. We want to keep it that way.

In West Virginia, inexperienced miners are called "red hats" for 120 days.

The UMWA has fought for laws to protect these new workers. Red hats must always be within sight and sound of an experienced miner. They aren't allowed to operate equipment. They're not supposed to be in any hazardous location—such as where the roof is unstable.

These are all laws, won by the union, which cover union and nonunion miners alike. But it is only in union mines where they are observed. If a probationary period were put into effect, the union could not make sure new workers were being trained properly—the safe way.

Another miner told me, "Underground is a totally alien environment from up top. You have to learn to know what's going on all around you as you do your job. Watch the top. Listen—what does it sound like when it's bad. There's a lot to learn. Why do you think we want you to have a buddy for 120 days? An experienced miner who's responsible for your safety and for teaching you right. How would you like a boss for your buddy for three months? Well, that's what this probation will mean for all new red hats."

Over the last year, accidents have gone up in the mines. At least five red hats were killed in West Virginia mines alone.

At the Ferrel mine in Boone County, five workers were killed by an explosion last November—four red hats and a foreman.

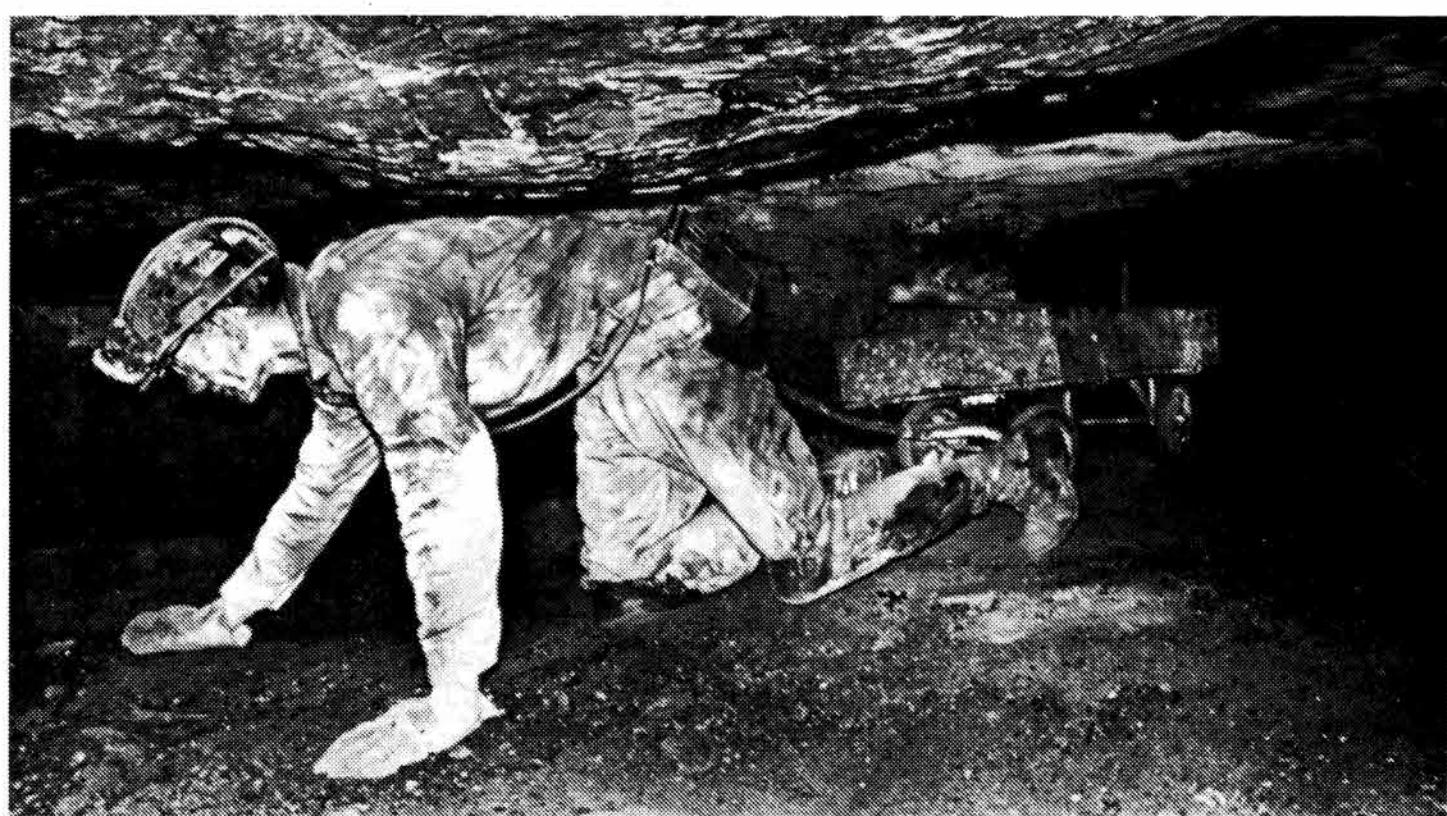
Several months ago, at a nonunion mine in Monongalia County, another

even speaks up too much—they want to be able to fire them at their discretion, provided of course that they don't discriminate," one said. "It's a joke. There's all kinds of ways they can get around it if the union can't fight for you. The burden of proof is on you. All you could do would be to go to the NLRB or the EEOC. Good luck! You might get your job back in two or three years."

Three women miners at the Blacksburg mine near here looked at each other during their contract meeting and said, "None of us would've made it if they'd had this thing when we started in the mines!"

Ten or fifteen years ago, the average age of a miner was over fifty. Today it is under thirty.

Inexperienced people need an "orien-



Mining low coal, Logan County, West Virginia

red hat was killed while helping to operate a continuous-miner machine. What he was doing was a violation of federal law. But that didn't stop him from being killed.

If the operators can push through any kind of probationary period for new miners, these kinds of fatalities will become more frequent.

Twenty red hats at Republic Steel's Kitt No. 1 mine where I work attended the local membership meeting to read and discuss the BCOA's contract proposal. I asked some of them what they thought about it. A few had experience working on the railroad or in steel mills where probationary periods now exist. They didn't like the idea at all.

"If a red hat refuses to cross a picket line, or is a little too prounion, or refuses to work in unsafe conditions, or

"In the faucet factory where I used to work," another said, "whenever someone got hurt who was still on probation they were out the door. They used to hire a bunch of new people for a cleanup or something, then fire them before their probation was up. What's to stop them from doing that in the mines if this thing passes? Hire ten red hats to do general inside labor—union work—then let them go before their forty-five days are up?"

Probationary periods are a serious threat to Black and women workers who are still fighting their way into better paying industrial jobs. "In the steel mills in Pittsburgh," one woman red hat told me, "they use this probation to weed out the women. 'We want to hire them,' they tell the feds, 'but they just can't seem to keep up,' or some other excuse."

tation," but not one that tells them to work harder and less safely, not one that keeps them out of the union for forty-five days. New miners need to be educated on safety, their rights as union members, and how to use these rights.

I think the union should run the training and orientation program for red hats; we do it informally now.

"We have to watch out for the red hats," one old-timer told me. "We do it down there and we damn well better do it in this contract too. Just remember, that could be your kid we're talking about."

*Melissa Merchant is a member of UMWA Local 2095 in Philippi, West Virginia, and a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.*

## National Lawyers Guild resumes miners' legal aid

By Liz Sommers

CHARLESTON, W.Va.—Fifty people met here March 14 at a National Lawyers Guild public forum to discuss the UMWA contract negotiations. The meeting announced the re-establishment of the Legal Support Network. This network would help striking miners overcome possible problems like how to keep utilities from being shut off, how to avoid mortgage foreclosure, get food stamps, and fight repossession.

Speakers included Cecil Roberts, vice-president of UMWA District 17; Larry Harless, District 17 attorney; Jim Branson, miner for Carbon Fuel Company and member of UMWA Local 2236; and Mike Kelly, a member of the National Lawyers Guild.

Kelly explained how the Legal Support Network was established in the 1977-78 strike. This network is a way for people in the legal profession to show their solidarity with the miners.

Roberts gave a history of the health and retirement funds. He explained why the company-by-company pension proposal of the coal operators was so dangerous. He also talked about subcontracting, when a big coal company farms out some of its smaller mines to smaller companies. This leaves the miners working for the big company with no transfer rights to the subcontracted mine if they are laid off. Branson said that subcontracting is on the increase and is used to undermine the job security of working miners, and to weaken the union.

There are ten to twelve thousand miners laid off in West Virginia, even in the midst of the "coal boom." The oil companies are buying up the reserves. "It's the oil companies keeping down coal production so they can jack up the price of oil," said Harless.

Jim Branson pointed to the attacks other workers are facing. "The miners will halt the takebacks," he promised.

## A Pa. holiday: miners march for better contract

By Linda May Flint and Ginny Hildebrand

MASONTOWN, Pa.—On April 1, the day after rejecting a tentative contract offer, some 500 miners and their families participated in a parade and rally here.

April 1 is a traditional holiday for miners, set aside to honor the union's success in gaining the eight-hour workday back in 1898, when John Mitchell was union president.

The parade and ceremonies in this southwestern Pennsylvania town were hosted by District 4 of the UMWA. According to the Brownsville Telegraph, this district rejected the proposed contract by a vote of 3,746 to 430.

Schools in Fayette County were closed for the day. School marching bands, cheerleaders, and other students joined members of area UMWA locals in the parade.

One UMWA local carried an anti-nu-

*Ginny Hildebrand is a member of UMWA Local 3506; Linda May Flint is in Local 1702.*

clear power banner. Some miners had signs and buttons they brought back from the March 9 Black Lung Rally in Washington, D.C., saying, "UMWA: United We Stand."

One homemade sign referred to the threat of the union miners saw in the contract they voted down: "UMWA, yesterday we saved it, today we praise it."

Residents lined the rain-soaked streets to view the parade, and stores and restaurants sported signs saying "Welcome UMWA Members."

Following the march, District 4 president James Kelly spoke at a rally in the school gymnasium. He was joined by Rev. Henry Marcinek. Sam Church, who was also scheduled to speak, did not attend.

"The winning of the eight-hour day was one of the first victories of the UMW," Kelly told the rally.

Reviewing the proud history of the union, he added, "We miners stand shoulder-to-shoulder, marching for what we think is right and opposing what is wrong."

# 'What the UMWA gets will benefit us'

By Vernon Jones

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—In the northern part of my county, the river is wide as it winds around the hills.

Generally, it's noisy too—with coal traffic. Barge after barge pushed north by tugs; train after train pulled south by locomotives; truck after truck going every which way.

The union mines shut down March 27, the day the contract expired. As I rode to work with my buddy, we saw the barges all empty and still.

The non-union mines in the area had been buzzing for weeks about this. We knew the union miners would not want us to mine coal, because more coal in the hands of the companies would drag the talks out more.

The TV and newspapers were talking up the possibility that the union would ratify the contract and the strike would be short. But union coal miners are our neighbors, friends, and relatives. We knew the proposal was going down.

### Contract issues

Non-union miners I know at all sorts of mines felt edgy for weeks. People talked about the contract issues and what they meant. We were as thrilled at the prospect of working Sundays as any union miner—which is to say not at all—and doubly thrilled when the companies dropped the issue in the tentative agreement.

We followed the discussion on company-by-company pensions, knowing that if it were left to companies like ours, there would be no pensions. When the companies backed down on this, most of us were glad.

Yesterday was March 26, and we had asked ourselves over and over again the familiar questions: "Do you



Miners at March 28 antinuclear and UMWA support demonstration in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

think they'll be here?" . . . "How do you feel about working?" . . . "Will they vote it down?" With patience and excitement, over and over again came the familiar answers: "They'll be here." . . . "I'm scared to work." . . . "What they get benefits us more than it benefits them." . . . "My father-in-law says the contract proposal stinks."

... "My brother says it stinks." . . . "It will be voted down."

### 'No work today'

My buddy and I are at the turnoff to our mine. A pickup truck is at the side. The four men beside it wear ski masks. They wave their arms and stop us. We roll down the window. A voice says,

"All right, buddies, no need to work today."

We nod in agreement, turn around and go home. We're grinning ear-to-ear. It's understood with our company that we won't return until there is a contract and that we had done our best by trying to show up. They once learned the hard way about running coal during a strike.

The next day I run into a cousin who is not so fortunate. Somehow, the pickets missed his mine and they had had to work all day. My cousin is angry and says they were all agitated at work.

They were too scared to leave work and risk being fired by the company, which wants to work them during the strike. Once they were through with work, they were scared to go home and be seen by pickets.

### Road closed

My cousin is very angry at the company for making them work. He is also mad at the union, because he swears he told a hundred union miners where the mine was and to be there. He's very scared because now they have to report Monday to keep from being fired. He'd also heard about some cars of non-union miners getting demolished in a neighboring county.

I phone my cousin Monday afternoon to make sure he is okay. He's much better than okay. He's jubilant.

"Did the union come?" I ask.

"They let us down, Vern. But when we asked the company if they'd pay for damage to our cars and they said No, we left on our own. All of us. They offered us armed guards and we kept walking. Finally they gave in and said they'd call us after the strike was over."

So that road is closed too.

## UMWA official discusses right to ratify contract

Kipp Dawson works at the Bethlehem mine in Cokesburg, Pennsylvania. She interviewed a United Mine Workers local officer from a southwestern Pennsylvania mine about the contract ratification procedure a few days before miners voted to reject the proposal.

*Question: It seems to me that when the membership feels we've made up our own minds about something, we'll*

*stick to it stronger than if we feel someone talked us into it. Do you think that's true?*

*Answer:* Oh yeah. The thing we try to encourage is free thinking. You don't want to have a puppet membership. Since the membership got the right to vote on their own contract, they've gone through experiences, and learned to think for themselves. No one is going to bullshit the membership like they used to. It's good. It really is good.

*Q.: Since I started working in the mine I've noticed the membership really knows the contract. It's got to be at least partly because of this process.*

*A.: For sure. Before, the contract would never be explained to a person. The contract would come into effect, you'd work under it. You might open it to the page to check your paycheck against the wages. Period. Or you might open it if you thought you got shafted out of something. But as far as the ins and outs and the different parts of the contract, the miner didn't know.*

*Q.: Can you describe the meeting where the contract was presented to the membership of your local?*

*A.: The president called the meeting to order. He explained we had rented a hall where there was a club next door with alcohol available, and he explained we didn't want nobody drinking, no bottles in the room. And we posted a sign saying that outside the hall. He announced when we would vote and that we're going through the changes in the contract.*

*Now, most of the language has been there for three years since the last contract, and a lot of it for six years from the preceding contract. So I'd say a lot of people were familiar with it.*

*We'd explain all the deletions and changes. We didn't want to have anybody control the floor, get up and make speeches. We tried to keep it very instructive and informative.*

*Q.: How long was the meeting?*

*A.: Surprisingly, this meeting was short, two and a half to three hours. When the meeting was held to explain the contract to the officers it lasted six to six and a half hours.*

*Q.: And this sort of thing happened in UMWA locals throughout the country?*

*A.: Exactly. We had it explained to us one day and then we had to explain it to the membership the next day. For me personally, the parts I didn't understand, I sat home and made some calls to be sure I fully understood them. Then I volunteered to explain those parts to the membership.*

*One other guy was really concerned about the dental plan and thought he understood it, so he volunteered to explain it. And anything he didn't understand or got confused on, the rest of us helped.*

*Q.: Do you think this knowledge about the contract by the members makes the union stronger?*

*A.: It helps. When I first started in the mine, we didn't vote on our contracts. And if we were to go back to that today, it would be unforgivable. It would never be accepted in the UMWA. There'd be a total revolution in the union—there's no doubt about it.*

*Look at what happened last time. We stayed out four months before the membership accepted a contract. Our leaders thought they had a good contract right off the bat, but we stayed out four months, and we were the ones sacrificing. So we should be able to make our minds up. And we do.*

*Q.: What happens next?*

*A.: If it's voted down, Sam Church will just have to go back to the bargaining table—he has no other choice. And we'll wait it out. We're willing to do so. That's all.*

### Mel Mason's message to miners

Below is a message sent March 30 to the United Mine Workers of America by Mel Mason, expressing his full support for the union's fight for a decent contract. Mason is a Black city councilman in Seaside, California, and a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

I take this opportunity to announce my support of your union's strike and its vigorous stand against the Reagan administration's proposed cut in black lung benefits. The proposed cuts in those benefits is a part of this government's continuing attack on working people and the poor—an attack that is directly related to and tied in with the racist murders of Black people in Atlanta, Buffalo, Greensboro, Miami and other cities throughout this country.

It is no coincidence that the rise in Ku Klux Klan violence coincides with government proposals that black lung benefits, public service



MEL MASON

jobs, and educational programs be deeply cut or wiped out altogether. This amounts to governmental war against the working class, and your union, the United Mine Workers of America, is at the forefront of battle.

The lessons learned from this struggle will not be lost. Rather, they will serve to inspire all people to resist racism as well as all the other attacks against the rights of workers in this country.

**'We are threatened by irresponsible madmen'**

# Nicaragua: FSLN answers Washington's

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—There are individuals here in Nicaragua—and certainly elsewhere—who say the Sandinistas' warnings about threats from U.S. imperialism are just radical paranoia or an attempt to find a foreign enemy to blame for Nicaragua's problems. Reactionaries here have talked about the "fantasy" of U.S. imperialist aggression.

They were definitively answered March 20 in a major policy speech by Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce, the head of the Political Commission of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

Relying heavily on direct quotations from Reagan's top advisors, Arce drew a chilling picture of Washington's drive toward war in Central America. He documented the Pentagon's escalating military support to right-wing governments in the region.

"And while they are giving millions of dollars to Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, while they are turning over airplanes, helicopters, aid, and armament, what is happening with Nicaragua? They suspend the PL-480 contract we had to finance the purchase of \$9.6 million worth of wheat to make bread and feed our people. They suspend payment of \$15 million of the \$75 million loan appropriated for 1980, which was to be used for building schools and other public works. They capture Nicaraguan pilots and make us pay a fine of \$350,000, besides confiscating the two civilian helicopters we had purchased to improve our military transport."

Why this difference? Why ten or fifteen modern armored helicopters for some countries while another is fined for buying two regular helicopters?

## A conscious plan

As Arce pointed out, some people blame the revolutionary government of Nicaragua for provoking U.S. hostility through its radical actions. But he stated categorically—in one of the major themes of his speech—that Washington's tough stance is not a response to anything specific the Nicaraguans are doing. Rather, Reagan and his advisors are simply putting into practice plans they set forth in writing a year or more ago.

Arce read long quotes from the reports of the Heritage Foundation, Committee of Santa Fe, and other right-wing think-tanks to give Nicaraguans a picture of the Reagan administration's game plan. He quoted the Republican Party platform in its calls for "peace through strength," for using foreign aid as a vehicle to export American ideas, for unleashing the CIA. This platform, he pointed out, calls for ending aid to Nicaragua and promises to support efforts to replace the Sandinista government with a "free and independent" government.

"This is the platform of the government we are up against. We would like to think this is just campaign propaganda and not actions a government in power would actually carry out. But present-day reality tells us something different."

The reality is that the day before Arce's speech Secretary of State Alexander Haig told Congress the government had cut \$1 billion from its foreign assistance budget and added \$1 billion in loans for foreign governments to buy military hardware in the United States.

There are still some who refuse to believe the U.S. government could possibly

\*Two Nicaraguans were arrested by U.S. Customs agents January 18 in Bulverde, Texas, and accused of attempting to "smuggle" to Nicaragua two helicopters purchased in Texas. The helicopters, it seems, were on a U.S. "munitions control list" forbidding arms exports to Nicaragua. In an effort not to jeopardize U.S.-Nicaraguan relations, the Nicaraguans pleaded "no contest" to a lesser charge and were fined \$350,000.



Above left, FSLN leader Bayardo Arce: 'And now Alexander Haig (right) says he is worried because we are getting antiaircraft weapons. All this means is that he's worried that if he sends planes to bomb us we'll have the equipment to shoot down his planes.' Below, members of Sandinista People's Army: 'Our plan is not to have 50,000 people under arms. It is to have 100,000 and if necessary two million, the whole adult population of Nicaragua.'

bly be as belligerent as it appears from Arce's selection of quotations. They argue that reports like the Heritage Foundation's are just academic studies and not government policy. But Arce refuted this by listing the current positions of power of about a dozen of these right-wing "scholars," like Cleto Di Giovanni, Roger Fontaine, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and Richard Allen.

All the members of the Reagan team agree that the Monroe Doctrine is still the cornerstone of U.S. policy toward Latin America—that Washington has a right to intervene in Latin America, its "sphere of influence," to prevent governments it does not like from coming to power. They all criticized the Carter administration for "excessive" concern about human rights. Arce quoted their proposals for stepping up arms shipments to El Salvador and supporting "the responsible right" in Guatemala.

Arce showed in considerable detail how every aspect of Washington's current anti-Nicaragua campaign was outlined in advance by people like Di Giovanni and Kirkpatrick. The three aspects of this campaign are economic destabilization, support to reactionary elements within the country, and, as a final phase, military aggression.

## A strategic offensive

As Arce stated, Di Giovanni, now a State Department consultant, called almost a year ago for "outlining a strategic offensive for overthrowing the Sandinista government and wiping out the insurgents in El Salvador."

"In spite of its show of military force," Di Giovanni claimed, "the Sandinista government is actually weak and could be overthrown by a determined, coordinated, and sharply focused effort."

"We should pay less attention," Di Giovanni went on, "to the exact character of Nicaraguan society and government and more to the direction it is going and its ability to serve as a source of support for revolutionary Marxists in other



parts of Central America."

Di Giovanni even named some of the forces he thought could be relied upon to help overthrow the Sandinista government: the Catholic Church, opposition political parties, the Permanent Commission for Human Rights, *La Prensa* newspaper, the big business council COSEP, and "workers who are more loyal to their employers than to the government."

Here Arce interjected: "Listen to this! I want all you workers to listen to this. Does anybody know who these employers are that workers here are supposed to be so fond of?"

Arce continued with the quotations. Di Giovanni, he said, admitted that the Sandinista government could not be overthrown except through military action. But the American adviser insisted that there were people willing to take such action. The only problem with them was that they were former members of the National Guard, "associated in the popular mind with ex-president Somoza who was unpopular among many Nicaraguans." Di Giovanni left open, however, the possibility that the Somozaists could overcome their "bad reputation" and rally popular support.

Arce commented: "The problem we face is that the individuals who are formulating these policies do not have the faintest idea what is really happening in Nicaragua. But the policy they set turns into governmental action. In other words, we are being threatened by irresponsible madmen."

Arce showed the relationship between economic pressure and military aggression with quotations "explaining" how economic hardship and crises will generate popular support for the counterrevolution. Some of Reagan's advisers even specified the critical times for applying economic pressure, culminating with the harvest in the spring of 1981. Others suggested the specific techniques to be used, such as the withhold-

ing of food for political reasons.

"It is no accident," Arce pointed out, "that all these complications are appearing right now as we come to the end of the harvest."

Since the end result of all the imperialists' economic and political maneuvers must be military aggression, Arce explained, it is not surprising that "the State Department is constantly fretting about the fact that we are making preparations to defend ourselves." Jeane Kirkpatrick complained about "an enormous and completely new revolutionary army." State Department spokesman William Dyess said Nicaragua is building an army of 50,000.

## Facing aggression

Arce answered the State Department: "We have already told everyone who would listen, in private and in public—we are not going to have an army of 50,000 people. Our professional army is small. Naturally I'm not going to do the CIA's work for them by giving its exact size.

"On the other hand, our plan is not to have 50,000 people under arms. It is to have 100,000 and if necessary two million, the whole adult population of Nicaragua. That is our right, to defend ourselves when faced with aggression."

"And now Alexander Haig, the one who ordered the bombing of Cambodia and Vietnam, says he is worried because we are getting antiaircraft weapons. All this means is that he's worried that if he sends planes to bomb us we'll have the equipment to shoot down his planes. He's not worried about the countries around us getting more war planes. Airplanes are offensive weapons. We don't have planes, and we're not thinking about going to attack anybody. Antiaircraft weapons are purely defensive. We are simply getting ready to defend ourselves."

There are still some who insist that all the tough talk from the imperialists does not mean much because politicians talk a lot.

## Training camps in U.S.

But Arce pointed out that right on U.S. territory training camps operate openly in which former members of the National Guard are getting ready for a war against the Nicaraguan government. He offered to help the CIA out, in case it really wants to do something about international terrorism, and listed the exact location of some of these armed counterrevolutionary groups.

Arce concluded his speech with a revelation that drew gasps from his audience. He displayed a letter dated January 6, 1981, from Reagan's national security adviser, Richard Allen, to Edmundo Chamorro Rappaccioli, the leader of one of the Somozaist exile armies.

Writing on behalf of then-President-elect Reagan, Allen thanked Chamorro for his "recommendations concerning the future" of Nicaragua, and promised to "make certain that the relevant policy people are made aware of your ideas and suggestions in this area."

"I will tell you something," Arce commented. "For months we have been wanting to talk to this Mr. Allen, and he hasn't even answered our requests for a meeting. But he answered Edmundo Chamorro, he answered him in the name of President Reagan."

Arce's speech has had a big impact here in Nicaragua. Much of the discussion has revolved around the necessity of Nicaraguans defending their country and their revolution, which flows from all Arce's documentation of imperialist aggression.

## Unionists respond

The Trade-Union Coordinating Committee of Nicaragua (CSN), a body that unites the major trade-union federations, had a special meeting a few days after Arce's speech to discuss ways of increasing participation by workers in the

# offensive

popular militias. Pointing out that many workers joined the militias in their neighborhoods rather than at their work places, one delegate to the CSN said that workers "must participate as a class and not just as individuals, and for this to happen the trade unions as such have to play a role in organizing the militias."

At the other end of the class spectrum, there is very little enthusiasm for the militias.

## Continued attacks

Following Arce's speech, opponents both inside and outside Nicaragua have continued their attacks on the revolution exactly along the lines outlined by the Sandinista leader.

The U.S. government, despite formal protests by Nicaragua to the State Department and the United Nations, has refused to take any action against the right-wing commando groups in Florida and other states.

Terrorist raids by ex-National Guardsmen based in Honduras continue in the northern part of Nicaragua. On March 19 a peasant militia leader was killed and a priest with him beaten and tied up. On March 25 another member of the militia was tortured, castrated, and buried alive.

Economic pressure has not let up. Before Reagan's recent cut-off of all aid, Managua papers reported that he had proposed \$35 million in loan aid for Nicaragua in 1982. But this appropriation included preconditions, like the insulting phony demand that Nicaragua promise to allow more than one political party. (There are no fewer than ten political parties—not counting the FSLN—in Nicaragua. The American Embassy here is certainly well aware of their existence, and in any case could look them up in the Managua telephone book.)

Some Nicaraguan capitalists continue to attempt to sabotage the economy through decapitalizing their enterprises and attempting to create an atmosphere of general panic. When it rained in the cotton-producing areas March 23, *La Prensa* falsely announced in screaming headlines the loss of the entire crop. The head of the Chamber of Industry (CIN), in an interview published March 27, warned that if businesses did not get the financing they were demanding, many of them would close down by June. He blamed this impending disaster on "the problems of labor discipline and political tension."

*La Prensa* and other reactionary forces come up with new stories almost every day about alleged Russian and especially Cuban influence in Nicaragua. This only provides an excuse for Washington's hostility and aggression.

José Esteban González, the president of the misnamed Permanent Commission on Human Rights (CPDH), has spent \$8,000 recently for full-page advertisements in Venezuelan newspapers saying that a state of civil war exists in Nicaragua. Such ravings are designed to convince Washington and the ex-National Guard terrorists that they will find some support for a military counterrevolution in Nicaragua.

An editorial in the March 23 *Barricada* suggested, however, that the patience of Nicaraguan revolutionaries is not limitless.

"Nicaragua is fast reaching the point at which we can no longer allow people in the name of 'freedom and democracy' to continue conspiring with imperialism against the interests of our country. And these advocates of intervention, these gentlemen who mockingly talk about the 'fantasy' of imperialism while people are being assassinated and attempts are being made to starve us into submission—they should realize they are playing a dangerous game. It is a game they will have a hard time winning. Because the masses already know the cards they have in their hand."

From Intercontinental Press

# 'Bay of Pigs'—20 years later

By Suzanne Haig

On April 17, 1961, a counterrevolutionary force of Cuban exiles invaded Cuba. The Kennedy administration, through the CIA, had organized, armed, and trained them on CIA bases in the United States and Guatemala.

Their orders were to bring down the government of Fidel Castro and return Cuba to its status under dictator Fulgencio Batista—a paradise for corporate investors and big-time gangsters.

The attack at Playa Girón, which became known in this country as the Bay of Pigs invasion, collapsed quickly because the Cuban masses were armed and ready to fight to the death to preserve the gains of the socialist revolution—jobs, education, housing, medical care, and the end of racist discrimination.

The front-page response of the *Mili-*

*tant to this assault on Cuba appears below.*

That was twenty years ago. Since then, the revolution has spread in Central America and the Caribbean. But Washington hasn't changed.

Today it is targeting revolutionary Nicaragua. As it did against Cuba in 1961, the CIA has arranged for camps to be provided for Nicaraguan exiles—followers of the late dictator Somoza—to train for an invasion of Nicaragua.

Prior to the Bay of Pigs, a White Paper was issued by the State Department. It charged Castro with receiving 30,000 tons of arms from the USSR.

Ominously, a similar White Paper was released this February, charging Nicaragua and Cuba with aiding fighters against the U.S.-backed dictatorship in El Salvador.

Threats to Cuba are escalating, too.

Several Reagan administration officials have suggested the possibility of a naval blockade like the one that brought the world to the brink of nuclear destruction in 1962.

Like the Cubans before them, the Nicaraguan workers and farmers are preparing to defend their homeland. Popular militias are being organized in factories and neighborhoods.

In Cuba, Territorial Troops Militia are being created, so that every Cuban worker, farmer, and student will be prepared to defend the revolution.

American working people can help defend the freedom of the Nicaraguan and Cuban masses by demanding an end to the threats and invasion preparations, full restoration of aid to Nicaragua, and an end to the economic blockade of Cuba and normalization of diplomatic relations with the Cuban government.



## Why Labor, Negroes Should Aid Cuba

— See page 3 —

Dr. Raul Roa at the United Nations  
Castro and the Lies About "Betrayal"  
Auto Workers and the 30-Hour Week

— See page 3  
— See page 1  
— See page 1

# STOP THE CRIME AGAINST CUBA!

**Statement by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party**

The Kennedy administration has launched an undeclared war on Cuba. This is the brutal fact facing the American people.

No less an authority than the *New York Times* felt forced to admit in an editorial April 18, the day after the invasion: "It is also no secret that the United States Government has been helping the Cuban exiles over a period of many months with arms, training and facilities on American soil and in Guatemala. This has been too well publicized to be ignored today."

Khrushchev has appealed personally to Kennedy "to put an end to the aggression."

The Soviet premier warned that "any so-called 'small war' can provoke a chain reaction in all parts of the world."

He reaffirmed a pledge to help Cuba "in beating back the armed attack."

Once again he stressed the interest of his government "in a relaxation of international tension."

"But," he added, "if others aggravate us we shall reply in full measure."

This restrained indication of the possible consequences must be taken with utmost seriousness. If the Kennedy administration persists in its armed aggression, it can set in motion forces that will inevitably plunge humanity into nuclear war.

Let there be no mistake about the guilt. The Central Intelligence Agency, first under Eisenhower and then under Kennedy, financed and trained

thousands of counterrevolutionary mercenaries. They were armed with U.S. naval, air and army weapons, including B-26 bombers and troop transports.

Their invasion of Cuba was

master-minded by American military experts in flagrant violation of the U.S. laws, including the Neutrality Act, and nonaggression treaties.

The crime against Cuba is also a crime against the American people. All Kennedy's talk about a "Peace Corps" and an "Alliance for Progress" in Latin America proved to be lying propaganda. It aimed at covering up the real plan of action—a new ordeal of terror and butchery for the Cuban people.

Kennedy's campaign promises about a "New Frontier" and world peace were directed primarily to the youth of America.

But Kennedy not teaching the ways of peace. The planting of phosphorous in the air-conditioning system of Havana's biggest department store is hailed as a heroic act. Corps of bombers are praised as champions of freedom and democracy. By this glorification of sabotage and indiscriminate terror, Kennedy is fostering in America's youth the type of mentality now on display in the Eichmann trial. Is this the "New Frontier"?

Like Eisenhower, Kennedy is acting for the economic and financial interests that stand behind the Democratic and Republican parties. These dealers in stocks and bonds bled Cuba for six decades, condemning the

population to poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and endemic disease.

They want back their lucrative holdings—no ifs, ands or buts. Besides that, they fear the Cuban example will inspire similar revolutions throughout Latin America. Their recipe is "Crush it in the bud."

The counterrevolutionary gen-

erals of the invasion army lie

when they say they are fighting for "democracy" and the "liberation" of Cuba. Their sole aim is to make the island safe once again for the dollars of American investors.

This is proved by the key plank in their call for war against the Castro regime issued April 8 in Manhattan by Miró Cardona, head of the Cuban Revolutionary Council.

It set up for recognition by the U.S. as the "government" of Cuba: "We

emphatically assure those who

have been unjustly dispossessed

that all of their assets will be returned... We shall encourage

investment in private property,

both national and foreign, and

we shall give complete guarantees to private enterprise and to private property."

The Cuban revolutionists have

followed an opposite course. In

place of capitalist production

for profit at the expense of hu-

man rights, they are building a

planned economy.

In Cuba the long-standing

army of unemployed has been

greatly reduced and its liquidation

is feasible in a year or two.

Jim Crow was wiped out along

with capitalism, its main sup-

porting institution. Attractive,

low-cost homes are being built

by the thousands throughout

the island in a great national

effort to provide housing for

everyone. Rents were slashed in

half and now every tenant can

become a home-owner, since

rent is accepted by the govern-

ment as installment payments

on a house or apartment.

Landless peasants have re-

ceived their own farms or else

participate in co-operatives that

have already made possible an

impressive rise in national pro-

ductivity. Illiteracy, which af-

fected a third of the population

in 1959, is now close to elimination,

a two-year achievement no

other country can match.

These are some of the gains in

Cuba which Wall Street re-

gards as a mortal threat.

The money-changers are right. Why

should any people endure the

domination of big monopolies

when by kicking them out they

can win such enormous im-

provements?

Wall Street's scheme is to cor-

rect things by overthrowing the

government of Cuba the way the

Central Intelligence Agency

overthrew the lawfully elected

government of Guatemala in

1954.

What is this mysterious CIA?

What does it do with its enor-

mous funds? To whom is it

accountable?

All that the American people

have been permitted to know is

that the head of this spy agency

is Allen Dulles and that it car-

ries on "cloak and dagger" op-

erations. Spying, it turns out,

reaches the level of undeclared

wars.

One courageous journalist,

I. F. Stone, has asked why Allen

Dulles is not indicted. A con-

gressman alive to his respon-

sibilities to the American people

would go further and demand

impeachment of Kennedy.

Many voices have demanded

investigation of the CIA — in-

vestigation of its U-2 spy opera-

tions, its sinister efforts to get

us into war in Laos, its recruit-

ment of Cuban mercenaries, its

training of saboteurs and ter-

rorists, its construction of mili-

tary training camps and secret

air bases in other countries, its

access to the arsenals of the

navy, the army and the air force

to outfit an entire expedition-

ary force and keep it supplied by

war.

The American people are enti-

tled to know exactly how the

agency assembles foreign trou-

ps on American soil, how it trans-

fers these mercenaries to other

countries, how it lands them at

the beaches of Cuba and sup-

## Death toll reported at 1,500

# Refugees massacred by Salvadoran troops

By Fred Murphy

Reports have begun to come out of El Salvador and Honduras of another brutal massacre of Salvadoran refugees by troops of the Salvadoran and Honduran armies.

The reported death toll of some 1,500 exceeds even the 600 or more killed along the Río Sumpul in June 1980.

According to dispatches published in the Mexico City daily *El Día* on April 8 and 9, hundreds of Salvadoran peasants and their families, fleeing aerial bombardment, tried to take refuge in a cave near the Honduran border.

"Almost everybody hid in the La Sentada cave," a survivor was quoted as saying. "Then the Honduran and Salvadoran soldiers began firing and throwing smoke bombs. Children who ran out crying were cut down by bullets."

According to this account, the soldiers "sealed the cave and left all those inside to die of asphyxiation." The dead included some 150 children, 600 elderly persons, and 700 women.

In the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa, the president of the Honduran Coordinating Committee of Solidarity With the Salvadoran People, Reynaldo Erazo, said "the bestial massacre" took place during the last weekend in March. Salvadoran troops and members of the right-wing paramilitary group ORDEN were involved, Erazo said. The solidarity group demanded "immediate explanations" from the Honduran government of its role in the killings.

The peasants were fleeing from an area of northern Morazán province where the Salvadoran armed forces had been carrying out "scorched earth" attacks for several weeks, using heavy artillery, helicopter gunships, and white phosphorus bombs in an effort to rout rebel forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

As of April 13, none of the major U.S. news media had reported the army attacks on civilians or the accounts of the cave massacre, despite the wide publicity the latter have received in Mexico and Central America.

Another example of the terrorist methods of the Salvadoran armed forces has been reported in the United States, however. During the night of April 6-7, some twenty-eight persons were killed in the San Nicolás shantytown in southwestern San Salvador. The Salvadoran Defense Ministry claimed in an April 7 statement that the deaths were all the "result of a confrontation between an armed guerrilla band and treasury police."

But a different account quickly emerged. "Relatives of 22 of the victims said they were arrested by government security forces Sunday and Monday [April 5 and 6] in poor neighborhoods near San Nicolás," a summary of dispatches from San Salvador published in the April 8 Newark, New Jersey, *Star-Ledger* said. The summary continued:

"Journalists who went to the scene said 21 bodies, including five women, were scattered in a street. At least six were blindfolded and had their thumbs tied behind their backs. . . .

"The street where the victims were slain ran with blood and the victims, presumed to be leftists, were disfigured by large-caliber slugs pumped into their heads and chests. One young boy said he saw a masked man in civilian clothes pointing out homes from which victims were dragged."

The use of civilian informers to point out the homes of "presumed leftists" and the tying of prisoners' thumbs behind their backs are part of the standard operating procedure for the Salvadoran security forces.

It was undoubtedly no coincidence that the U.S. State Department chose the week of the Morazán massacre and

the San Nicolás killings to launch charges that Salvadoran leftists had embarked on a "new strategy" of killing government officials. "Our analysts are close to reaching a formal conclusion that a concerted assassination effort aimed at Government officials is the new wrinkle," Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs James Cheek told *New York Times* correspondent Judith Miller.

"Mr. Cheek and other officials said that while at least four attempts to assassinate President Duarte in the last month had failed, about six may-

ernment from the killings. The State Department even declared that "these most recent killings reinforce our determination to support the centrist government" of El Salvador!

So Washington continues to ship massive quantities of arms that go directly to the Salvadoran armed forces, which are becoming more and more widely exposed as the chief perpetrators of violence against civilians.

That this is a conscious policy on the part of the Salvadoran high command and not—as the State Department would have it—the aberrations of out-

## NAACP: 'No U.S. military aid'

The board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People spoke out April 13 in opposition to U.S. policy in El Salvador. It urged President Reagan not to create "a Western Hemisphere Vietnam by sending arms to El Salvador."

The board, meeting in Pittsburgh, also called for the dismissal of Jeane J. Kirkpatrick as the chief

United States representative of the United Nations because of her meeting in March with South African military officers.

Reagan's budget proposals were another NAACP target. Executive Director Benjamin Hooks said they represented "an Alice in Wonderland approach that takes from the poor and gives to the rich."

of-control "extremists" was made clear in remarks by Defense Minister Col. José Guillermo García to the Salvadoran Chamber of Commerce on April 9. According to an account published in *El Día* of Mexico City April 10, "García promised that the Armed Forces will smash the rebel forces just as in 1932. . . .

Thirty thousand or more Indian peasants lost their lives in the bloodbath launched by the Salvadoran military and the landlords after the January 1932 uprising was put down. Since the beginning of 1980, according to Catholic Church figures, 19,000 Salvadorans have been killed or "disappeared." With their new U.S. hardware, García's troops are well on their way to topping the 1932 figure of their predecessors.

From *Intercontinental Press*

## Sales scoreboard

AREA	MILITANT		PM		TOTAL		TOTAL % SOLD
	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	
Pittsburgh	245	446	5	0	250	446	178.4
Morgantown	110	154	0	0	110	154	140.0
Charleston	30	39	0	0	30	39	130.0
Tidewater	80	94	0	0	80	94	117.5
Milwaukee	90	105	10	5	100	110	110.0
Los Angeles	215	280	60	12	275	292	106.1
Birmingham	125	132	0	0	125	132	105.6
San Antonio	70	72	20	22	90	94	104.4
Baltimore	90	93	0	0	90	93	103.3
Dallas	55	48	35	45	90	93	103.3
Piedmont	100	101	0	0	100	101	101.0
Iron Range	45	45	0	0	45	45	100.0
Louisville	80	80	0	0	80	80	100.0
Salt Lake City	100	93	8	10	108	103	95.3
Atlanta	100	92	0	0	100	92	92.0
Manhattan	175	169	50	20	225	189	84.0
Seattle	125	102	0	0	125	102	81.6
Albuquerque	105	86	15	11	120	97	80.8
Portland	70	56	0	0	70	56	80.0
Philadelphia	120	104	15	3	135	107	79.2
Detroit	140	111	10	6	150	117	78.0
Cincinnati	60	44	0	0	60	44	73.3
Toledo	70	49	0	0	70	49	70.0
Kansas City	115	81	10	5	125	86	68.8
Denver	70	49	10	6	80	55	68.7
Indianapolis	125	85	0	0	125	85	68.0
Washington, D.C.	120	85	30	15	150	100	66.6
Twin Cities	162	105	3	2	165	107	64.8
Capital District	105	62	5	3	110	65	59.0
Phoenix	110	55	25	20	135	75	55.5
Gary	70	41	5	0	75	41	54.6
Miami	60	35	10	1	70	36	51.4
Newark	125	66	25	10	150	76	50.6
San Jose	90	55	35	7	125	62	49.6
Cleveland	100	49	7	1	107	50	46.7
San Francisco	120	60	30	8	150	68	45.3
Brooklyn	220	81	30	7	250	88	35.2
Chicago	175	55	25	0	200	55	27.5
Oakland	95	27	5	0	100	27	27.5
San Diego	90	25	10	0	100	25	25.0
New Orleans	85	15	0	1	85	16	18.8
TOTALS	4,772	3,626	563	220	5,335	3,846	72.0

Not reporting: Boston, Houston, St. Louis  
Covers issue #13 of the *Militant* and the second week of issue #6 of *PM*.

## 'I'll take that paper— I'm a coal miner too!'

By Clare Fraenzl

PITTSBURGH—Sales teams fanned out through southwestern Pennsylvania last week to get out the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist*. They sold 404 single copies and forty-two subscriptions to the *Militant* and 125 copies of the *Young Socialist*. The teams sold in mining communities throughout United Mine Workers Districts 2 and 5, and also at a number of local college campuses. The response everywhere was excellent.

At Pennsylvania State University extension in McKeesport, sales got a boost from Black activist and comedian Dick Gregory. He held up a copy of the *Militant* before a crowd of about 300 people and urged them to read it and support the Socialist Workers Party suit against government repression. He said the *Militant* is getting out the truth.

The team I was on went to a housing project in Johnstown where steelworkers live. Many are laid off from the Bethlehem mill, some for over a year. They snatched up the *Militant*. "If this tells about the coal miners, I want to get a copy of it," one said.

Another laid-off steelworker told us, "My father died from black lung. I support the coal miners all the way. I'm so glad to see you here selling that."

Laid-off workers and their families face increasing hardships. We talked about the budget cutbacks and what could be done to stop them.

Many students at local colleges are sons and daughters of coal miners. They were interested in why the miners turned down the contract, and in the coverage of the Atlanta killings.

A three-day sales team at California State College in California, Pennsylvania, sold sixty *Militants* and fifty *Young Socialists*. The team built a forum for DeAnn Rathbun, a miner who is the SWP candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh. Rathbun, who visited Atlanta recently, spoke to about thirty students at the college about what is happening in Atlanta.

In Pittsburgh, many young Black workers bought the *Militant*, especially for information about Atlanta and what could be done to stop the killings.

While selling at the Homestead U.S. Steel mill near Pittsburgh, we met a young, Black miner. He had just returned from the Veterans Administration hospital. His foot was badly injured in a mining accident and he had been unable to work for months. He looked at the *Militant* and spoke with the miner who was selling it. Then he called to the people he was with: "It's a sister, a sister coal miner. I'll take that paper. I'm a coal miner, too."

# FBI concocts 'secret' document

By Nelson Blackstock

NEW YORK—After eight long years it's finally come down to a matter of a piece of paper so secret that only the judge and the government can see it.

It's a crude, secret-police type frame-up—a last-ditch bid to salvage a defense in the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against spying and harassment.

The story was still unfolding April 15, as the trial of the suit wrapped up its second week. It's taking place here at the federal court building on Foley Square.

The socialists find themselves defending the Bill of Rights of the Constitution which, as Jack Barnes explained in his testimony, stand in contradiction to the sections that enshrine the privileges of private property.

At the same time, the government is following the logic of upholding the rule of a rich few. They are trampling on basic precepts of elementary decency and justice.

The picture has only gradually come into focus. The two key witnesses have been SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, who first took the stand April 4 and continued—with interruptions—for a week; and Charles Mandigo, an FBI agent, who testified April 13.

## Strange questioning

Sitting in the courtroom, you began to figure something fishy was going on when Assistant U.S. Attorney Edward G. Williams suddenly veered off into a strange line of questioning during his cross examination of Barnes on April 9. It involved such things as a so-called Secret International Operational Center in Paris; and the alleged passing of several thousand dollars to a Bolivian revolutionary in a darkened Manhattan movie theater in 1967.

To understand what this was all about you needed to know that there is now a secret affidavit in the hands of Judge Thomas Griesa. It is so secret that none of the socialists or their lawyers can lay eyes on it. Not even Jack Barnes. Despite the fact that the affidavit accuses him of committing serious crimes. And despite the fact that the government lawyers and the FBI defendants not only have access to it—the FBI wrote it.

The government's last move is made from weakness. In fact, it proves the socialist case on the face of it.

After forty years of spying—and after almost eight years of court action around this suit—during which the government was able to question SWP leaders for hundreds of hours, they were not able to produce evidence of one single illegal act.

Unable to come up with anything that can stand the light of day, the government has stooped to asserting that they have evidence of a crime. On this basis they are arguing that they should be allowed to continue their disruption of socialist political activity.

They claim they can't reveal the nature of the evidence because it is a "state secret," and to do so will violate "national security." They are hinging their defense on the assertion that although they have evidence of crimes by the socialists, it is more important to safeguard the "source" of their information than it is to prosecute the socialists for their alleged criminal acts.

This is a final gamble to keep the axis of the case off the fundamental issue—which is, does the government have the right to "investigate" so-called subversives, or anybody else? Not because of anything they've done. But because of what they think.

In effect, they are trying to turn the trial into a criminal case—one in which the people accused of the crimes, the socialists, are unable to confront their accuser or refute the evidence.

By trying to establish that there is ample evidence to investigate on crimi-



Right, Jack Barnes testifying. From left, court clerk, court reporter, Judge Griesa.

nal grounds alone, they hope to avoid the real issue posed by this case.

## Totalitarian methods

The methods they are trying to use are characteristic of a totalitarian regime—not a bourgeois democracy, in which you are supposed to be guaranteed the right to a fair trial. Under a totalitarian dictatorship, you can be accused, tried, convicted, and sentenced without ever knowing what you were supposed to have done.

The government is trying to put this over in the name of protection of "sources." They are raising the protection of a handful of paid stool pigeons higher than the Bill of Rights.

As for the "investigation" they want to continue, the secret FBI files produced during this case prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that it is merely a front for the disruption of legitimate political activity.

A case in point came up right in the middle of the trial—when the FBI tried to embarrass and intimidate the newly-elected mayor of Burlington, Vermont, under the guise of an investigation. (See story on page 14.)

In order to understand this turn in the trial, it is necessary to recall how the case developed in recent months.

Until last fall the government had banked on an out-of-court settlement. But when it became clear the socialists weren't settling on their terms, the government had to figure out how to mount a defense at a trial. That's when the government suddenly proclaimed at a pre-trial hearing that they had "loads of illegal acts."

## Mandigo affidavit

The judge asked for a list. After much stalling, it finally appeared in the form of the "Mandigo affidavit."

The judge took one look and called it "completely useless." All it contained, he said, was "a lot of quotations from public sources, and a lot of history, which anybody could go to the library and find out."

"The real question that we were waiting with bated breath to know was if the FBI had any evidence of any illegal activity by these people." In the affidavit there was none.

At the same time, the FBI said they had another list of crimes, this one secret. They would only show it to the judge *in camera*, meaning privately; and *ex parte*, meaning with the proviso that its contents not be revealed to the socialists or even to one of their lawyers.

This the judge rejected. "The government can't make any case by providing it *in camera* to me," he said. "I'm not going to receive it."

Despite Griesa's initial response, the socialists became convinced that they must take the secret list head on, demolishing the lies it contained. The first step was to urge the judge to read it. This he did.

When Jack Barnes took the stand he testified along the same lines as Farrell Dobbs, former SWP national secretary and the first witness.

Both forcefully stated what the SWP stands for and what it does. Listening to them on the stand, it was clear they were ready to testify about anything and had nothing to hide.

Under direct examination by attorney Margaret Winter, Barnes's testimony plunged right into areas of socialist activity the government considers most vulnerable from the standpoint of reactionary laws.

## Fourth International

Barnes made clear the SWP's political commitment to the Fourth International. The only reason the SWP does not belong, he said, is because of laws that bar it.

The SWP participates fully in the political discussions and debates in the International.

The witness said he had been to every World Congress of the International since 1969. In 1979 "around eighteen" SWP members attended the World Congress, he said.

"I gave two reports," Barnes testified. "One was around the issue of the labor movement and the increased opportunities in the unions. The second was a report on the political resolution."

Barnes described the socialists' total support for the revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, saying that the SWP views the leaderships in these countries as "sister parties."

In the summer of 1960, Barnes testified, he met Che Guevara in Cuba.

In 1972 in Brussels, Belgium, Barnes met with Roberto Santucho, the most prominent leader of the Revolutionary Army of the People, one of the guerrilla organizations that had sprung up in Argentina. Santucho, who had been a supporter of the Fourth International, was breaking with it at the time. He was treacherously murdered by the Argentine government in 1976.

In 1979, Barnes stated, he visited Nicaragua. Noel Corea, a Nicaraguan-born supporter of the revolution there, and Liam James, a leader of Grenada's New Jewel Movement, spoke to an SWP conference last summer.

Barnes also told of his meetings with a member of the Cuban delegation to the United Nations in New York last year to discuss a response to the terrorist bombings and other attacks on Cubans in the United States.

## Terrorism

With the weakening of anticommunist sentiment, the rulers have sought to conjure up another bogey man—terrorism. Today the government tries to smear the SWP, and other opponents as well, with the terrorist label.

One of the ways they have done this is by charging that the SWP harbored a terrorist element within its member-

ship—the Internationalist Tendency (IT), a minority grouping inside the party in the 1970s. Likewise, they accused the International Majority Tendency, which represented one side of a dispute in the Fourth International during those years, with advocating terrorism.

Barnes refuted both lies.

"Did the IT urge SWP members to advocate terrorism? To back terrorist groups?" Winter asked.

"No, they never did that," Barnes answered.

He explained the origins of the dispute in differences at the 1969 World Congress over the strategy of rural guerrilla warfare in Latin America.

In 1977, leaders of the international majority wrote a document sharply criticizing their earlier stance. The 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International voted to rescind the positions on guerrilla warfare in Latin America adopted in 1969 and subsequent years.

Winter asked Barnes about the socialists' policy of using false names, or pseudonyms, at international gatherings. The government has tried to use this to insinuate sinister, conspiratorial motives.

## Why pseudonyms?

"A certain number of participants come from countries in which they would face death or imprisonment if it were known that they had attended an international gathering of the Trotskyist movement," Barnes said.

To disguise the identity of some it is necessary to assign a pseudonym to all. Otherwise, those with false names would stand out.

This is a gravely serious matter. "Many have been killed in the last decade alone," Barnes testified.

The minutes of the 1979 World Congress list some of their names: Cesar Robles, a delegate to the 1974 World Congress from Argentina; nineteen other members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores murdered by the Argentine dictatorship. There are also names from Spain, Mexico, and Peru.

In several countries of Latin America ruled by United States sponsored dictatorships, death squads roam freely. One only has to mention the name of Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador to make the point that no opponent of oppression is safe in some places.

"Under these circumstances I consider the use of pseudonyms to be an elementary human right and duty," Barnes later told the *Militant*.

Barnes told the court which pseudonyms correspond to the actual names of Americans. But he refused to testify at the trial as to the real names of socialists from other countries.

As a security measure, many participants at international events are

*Continued on next page*

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known to the Americans and others only by their pseudonyms. Some of the more prominent figures in the international, however, are obviously known by their real names as well.

In pretrial proceedings the socialists turned over a list of those names they could recall, all of which are public knowledge to one degree or another—under the condition that it be placed under a special protective order. This means that the information is restricted to the court, and to government lawyers involved in the case. Stiff penalties will be assessed if evidence appears that the information has been spread beyond those authorized by the court to receive it.

### Illegal activities

During his testimony, Winter asked Barnes if "sections of the Fourth International ever engaged in illegal activities."

"Yes," he replied.

"What countries?"

"Since 1969 in South Africa, Nicaragua, Haiti, Iran, Argentina, Chile, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and China; Spain under Franco, and Portugal under Salazar, and many others," he answered.

Asked to describe some of the illegal activities, Barnes said: "It varies from country to country. Newspapers are sometimes illegal, demonstrations. In South Africa it's illegal for Blacks and whites to meet in the same room. Presses and mimeographs are illegal in some places. Or they're registered with the government so they have to be stolen. Sometimes passports have to be forged to travel to meetings. All these are illegal."

"What is the view of the SWP with regard to such activities?" Winters asked.

"We totally politically support it," Barnes answered. "We think it's the only way people in these countries with tyrannical governments can express their ideas."

### Cross examination

Williams's cross examination of Barnes ranged over several topics—often skipping backward and forward to the same subject.

Only when looked at as a whole—and in the light of the existence of the secret affidavit—does a lot of it make sense.

Williams's questions dwelled on the finances of both the SWP and the company that prints the *Militant* and other publications issued by the socialists.

He asked questions about how Barnes and others were paid—cash or check? He asked details of credit card accounts.



ROBERTO SANTUCHO

Williams asked about expenditures when Barnes lived in Europe in the early 1970s. Who paid the bills and in what form?

Barnes answered that the SWP pays the expenses of its members when they are assigned to work abroad.

What Williams was driving at was the existence of an imagined slush fund. (Later, on April 15, David Prince, who handles finances for the socialists, took the stand to detail their financial procedures.)

Williams's probing on finances eventually dovetailed with another line of questioning:

Did Hugo González Moscoso attend the 1967 convention of the SWP in New York City? (González Moscoso is a leader of the Bolivian section of the Fourth International.)

Did Barnes, González Moscoso, and others go to see the film *Battle of Algiers* at this time? Did they see it at a theater in Manhattan? During the movie, didn't Barnes slip González Moscoso an envelope containing thousands of dollars?

Williams did not say where he got his information.

Barnes answered that most of what was being asked was true, as far as he could recall. Except for one thing: there was no money passed.

Williams also asked if it was not true that Hugo González Moscoso got into this country on false pretenses—to "visit the Mayo clinic"—when his actual purpose was to go to the SWP convention.

Barnes flatly denied this accusation. As he later told the *Militant*, González Moscoso was a very sick man. He had been tortured by the regime, and had sought medical help in this country. (Then, as today, Bolivia was under the

heel of a brutal military dictatorship.)

While branding Williams's charge that the SWP passed money to González Moscoso a lie, Barnes does not rule out the possibility that a committee set up to aid victims of repressive regimes had raised money here, which González Moscoso took back with him.

"In pre-trial testimony I told the government lawyers that when González Moscoso came to this country there was deep repression in Bolivia," Barnes said. "It was not long after the murder of Che Guevara in that country."

"The left wing of the labor movement was hit hard. Many miners were in jail."

"In a poor country like that, when the breadwinner goes to jail, a family of five or six find it difficult to even survive," Barnes said.

"So it's entirely possible that people in this country would have raised money to help their families. González Moscoso may have gotten money from some of them."

"People here are willing to do such things. Look at the support for Nicaragua and El Salvador today. There's the eyeglasses for Nicaragua campaign of the steelworkers union. Catholic organizations are coming to the aid of the embattled workers and peasants of El Salvador."

"But the SWP did not give him any money, and he did not ask us for any," Barnes said.

### Sallustro incident

Williams had an additional line of questioning revolving around yet another big lie.

Had Barnes ever heard of a man named "Sarrostro"? Williams asked.

The witness said no, he hadn't. But he had heard the name of an Italian Fiat executive named Oberdán Sallustro.

How did you hear of the kidnapping of Sallustro? Williams asked.

Barnes said that he had read about it in *Le Monde*, the Paris daily newspaper.

In 1972 headlines throughout the world flashed the story that Sallustro had been kidnapped and held for ransom by "Trotskyist guerrillas" in Argentina. He had been seized by the Revolutionary Army of the People.

At the time, Barnes was living in Europe, working with the Fourth International, he told the court.

Williams asked a series of questions that implied the following: Barnes headed something called the "secret International Operations Center" in Paris during this time. Negotiations went on at the headquarters of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International, between

*Continued on next page*

# DAY BY DAY

### WHAT HAPPENED IN COURT

During the trial of the Socialist suit the 'Militant' will run capsule day-by-day summaries of court proceedings.

#### DAY 6: THURSDAY, APRIL 9

Under cross-examination by government lawyers, Barnes reaffirms the SWP's wholehearted solidarity with the Fourth International and its support for struggles against oppression around the world. He denies that the SWP ever gave money to guerrilla groups or to any party in the Fourth International.

#### DAY 7: FRIDAY, APRIL 10

Still on the stand, Barnes explains SWP opposition to U.S. military involvement in Vietnam in the 1960s and in El Salvador today. Judge Griesa interrupts government lawyer to point out that opposition to these policies extends far beyond the SWP. Responding to an informer report quoting Barnes as saying the SWP cared nothing about forcing U.S. troops out of Vietnam and was only trying to 'suck in' new recruits, Barnes calls the alleged quotation 'totally alien to anything we've ever done or said in our history.'

In response to government's use of 'Newsweek' article labeling Fourth International 'terrorist,' Barnes cites reply of FI leader Ernest Mandel, who explained why Trotskyists oppose individual terrorism and concluded that police informers and their ilk 'cannot understand this simple truth: that society can only be changed through the efforts of millions....'

#### DAY 8: MONDAY, APRIL 13

Acting on request of SWP attorneys, Judge Griesa instructs FBI to halt heavy-handed investigations of persons whose names happen to come up in trial testimony.

FBI agent Charles Mandigo, called to the stand by the socialists, reaffirms statement in his earlier affidavit that FBI 'investigation' of socialists is based on ideas, not any actions. Under questioning he says that he is the author of the secret affidavit that supposedly lists crimes committed by the socialists.

FBI 'street agent' George Baxtrum takes the stand, and recounts sixteen-year career of spying on SWP. Baxtrum acknowledges that there were ninety 'surreptitious entries' into socialists' national headquarters, as well as a number of disruption programs aimed at 'lowering image' of SWP.

#### DAY 9, TUESDAY, APRIL 14

Evelyn Sell, a longtime member of the SWP, testifies about losing her position in the Austin, Texas, school system in 1970. In 1975, she relates, she learned through documents obtained by the SWP in the pretrial process that the FBI had been responsible for this.

#### DAY 10, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 15

During cross-examination, the attorney for the FBI tries to establish that Sell suspected at the time that the FBI was responsible for her having lost her job. This intended to suggest that under the statute of limitations she no longer has recourse for damages. He does not explain how such suspicions would have been grounds for court action at the time.

Dave Prince, national financial director of the SWP, testifies as to how the party is financed. He explains that the major source of funds is voluntary contributions by members, who also determine party spending priorities.

## The Dreyfus affair

### Some things never change

We can't show you. It would endanger national security. That's the government's final excuse for not presenting its "proof" that the Socialist Workers Party has committed illegal acts, proof they admit they haven't produced in forty years of investigation and eight and a half years of pretrial proceedings.

SWP leaders are ready to refute any charge with facts, but the government won't even say what the charges are.

The government's defense is lame. Blatantly undemocratic. And far from original.

Almost ninety years ago, in 1894, the French government used the same trick to condemn Army Captain Alfred Dreyfus to life imprisonment on Devil's Island.

Dreyfus was a Jew. The French army was hunting for a German spy in their midst and picked Dreyfus for the role. A hysterical antisemitic

campaign was launched in the press.

During his trial the government presented only one piece of evidence—a list of documents alleged to have been sent to the German government by Dreyfus. And handwriting experts could not agree on whether Dreyfus was the author.

To help the government's case, Major Hubert Henry took the stand. "An unimpeachable gentleman," he testified, had warned him about the traitor. Henry explained that he could not identify the gentleman without endangering the nation.

At the last minute the army provided additional "evidence" to the court. "Evidence" that had to be kept from Dreyfus's attorney to protect the state.

Thin air was the foundation for some of this "proof." The rest consisted of "touched up" documents.

The court ruled Dreyfus guilty.

The army tried to derail moves to reopen the case by providing even more secret "evidence" to doubting government officials.

When a court of appeals agreed to review the conviction in 1898, the press branded the judges as traitors. They urged the government not to submit its "evidence" to the court. It would end up in the hands of the Kaiser the next day, they argued.

But the house of cards began to fall apart. The forged documents were exposed. The court reduced Dreyfus's sentence to ten years.

On September 19, 1899—after serving five years in prison—he was pardoned. More than twelve years after the original conviction, on July 12, 1906, a court of appeals exonerated him.

That's the kind of "justice" that lurks behind the cloak of "national security."

—Vivian Sahner

**Continued from preceding page**

Fiat executives and leaders of the Fourth International. Although Barnes opposed such negotiations, he nonetheless knew about them—thus supposedly being directly linked to an act of terrorism.

Barnes answered these fabrications in response to Williams and further questions by Winter.

Barnes explained his and the SWP's stance toward the Sallustro affair (see accompanying editorial from the *Militant* at the time).

"We thought it was completely wrong," he said in court, "an obstacle to the movement, for the fight in Argentina."

Did he have any knowledge other than what was in the press?

"No," he answered. He read that someone from Fiat came to the Ligue Communiste headquarters in Paris, but that they "were rebuffed and told to meet with the Argentines."

"Did you tell Ernest Mandel, and Pierre Frank and Mary Alice Waters that you thought the meetings in Paris between the PRT and Fiat were a big mistake?" Williams asked.

"That's totally false. I never knew or said anything like that to anyone."

"The PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores] was a section of the Fourth International at the time of the kidnapping of Sallustro, was it not? Williams asked.

"There were at least five PRT's then," Barnes explained. "Which one was a section of the FI was a great debate."

Barnes said those who claimed responsibility for the kidnapping were moving rapidly away from the political positions of the Fourth International and already publicly identified with Stalinist leaders such as Mao Zedong and North Korea's Kim Il Sung.

#### Mandigo on the stand

The next witness, April 13, was Charles Mandigo, author of the Mandigo affidavit. An FBI agent assigned to the Washington headquarters, he is a man who appears to be in his mid-twenties. He has light blond hair, longish over the ears, slightly balding on top.

The plaintiffs had called him to the stand.

Before his examination was recessed, lawyers at the government table were squirming in their seats and the judge was scolding the witness for refusing to answer the questions.

Under questioning by Herbert Jordan, one of the socialists' attorneys, Mandigo adopted a tactic of filibuster and evasion. A lawyer himself, he cited reams of court decisions alleged to

back up the FBI's claim to free rein in "investigating" the socialists.

This was not what the judge wanted to hear. "You are not the lawyer arguing the case," he reminded the witness at one point.

It had been Judge Griesa's idea to request the Mandigo affidavit. He said he wanted to know if the government had any evidence of illegal acts.

Now the government objected to the socialists' motion to admit the affidavit into evidence in the trial. The judge, however, readily agreed to accept it, noting, "It is an admission . . . that there was nothing found out about" the six socialist leaders covered by the affidavit. "Except what we have about that in [the secret affidavit] about Barnes," he added.

#### Basis of investigation

Under questioning by Jordan, Mandigo said that the file on the SWP had been originally opened in 1940—only a few months after a directive from President Roosevelt "dated September 23, 1939," instructing the FBI to investigate "subversive" activities.

Jordan later brought out that the presidential directive was actually issued on a different date and does not even mention "subversive activities."

At one point the judge took over the questioning of the witness. He zeroed in on what actions the FBI was looking for in its investigations.

"Now, did that not have to do with violations of American law?" Griesa asked.

"No, it did not," Mandigo answered. Dodging the question, he said it had to do with constitutional powers of the president "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution."

Trying again, the judge asked, "Well, what would you be looking for? Would you be just looking for, among other things, any specific acts as distinct from just ideas?"

Mandigo rambled on about the "historical context" and "fascism, communism and other types of nationalistic tendencies in the United States," finally saying that the FBI was supposed to "conduct strictly intelligence investigations of subversive activities."

"Subversive activities being defined as what?" Griesa asked.

Mandigo started up again, explaining that there was subversion "from without the United States or subversion from within . . . to subvert the government's constitutional form of government."

"Well, again," Griesa responded, "I am trying to see if there was an attempt to uncover specific types of activities. The reason I am asking that

## Mandel answers Newsweek

In his cross-examination of SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, FBI attorney Edward Williams introduced a fabricated quotation taken from a 1972 *Newsweek* article.

The quotation, falsely attributed by *Newsweek* to Fourth International leader Ernest Mandel, attempted to smear both the renowned Marxist economist and the Fourth International as supporters of terrorism.

In reply to Williams, Barnes explained that Mandel had written an answer to the *Newsweek* article, protesting the publication of lies about him and the Fourth International. *Newsweek* refused to print the response, but several other publications, including the *Militant*, did.

In later questioning, on April 10, Williams returned to the theme of terrorism. As his last, and what he apparently considers his most damning question, he read Barnes a few lines from another quotation and asked Barnes if he agreed with them.

Barnes replied, "I think that paragraph is perfect," taken as a whole.

The following is the full text of the paragraph Williams read from. It is taken from Mandel's answer to *Newsweek*.

"It is true that in addition to its above-mentioned basic goals, the

Fourth International firmly supports, in a spirit of solidarity with all victims of oppression and exploitation, popular mass resistance movements against oppressors, even if the rulers of these countries leave them no other avenue open for struggle but armed struggle. A similar position of support to such movements, e.g., in the Portuguese colonies, has recently been adopted by the World Council of Churches and the Swedish Social Democracy. You don't taint them with the brush of being 'terrorist organizations' for that support. There is no reason to taint us with that brush either."



Labor Challenge/Arnie Mintz

**ERNEST MANDEL**

is to determine if there is a blank, if there is nothing there. . . .

"I assume that the FBI was spending its time and money trying to find out if there were that kind of activity engaged in."

"In other words, if somebody had been around engaging in sabotage, that would be of interest to the FBI, wouldn't it?"

#### Subversive investigation

"That's correct," Mandigo replied. "It would be a criminal investigation—as opposed to a subversive one."

"I don't know what you are trying to get at," Griesa said. "Are you trying to convey to me that the FBI investigation wasn't related to activity?"

"We are dealing with a very complex problem here," Mandigo replied, proceeding to babble about "coequal branches of the government."

"That has nothing whatsoever to do

with my question," Griesa said.

"I know, but it is a very complex area that we are dealing with," Mandigo said.

"I asked you and you would not answer," Griesa retorted. "If you won't answer, you won't answer."

"Was the FBI interested in finding out if certain types of activity were engaged in? If so, what? I've asked you that about five times and you won't answer."

"Yes, they were interested in criminal activity," Mandigo said, "however—"

"I didn't use the word 'criminal,'" said Griesa. "I said certain types of activity."

"Yes, subversive activities."

"What were those subversive activities that they were interested in trying to ferret out?"

"They were interested in activity which would tend to subvert our constitutional form of government."

"Specifically what? Give me some for instances," Griesa asked.

"The term—there is so much encompassed in this, it goes all the way from espionage—"

"I won't permit the witness to testify," Griesa exclaimed. "If he won't answer any questions, he can go away."

At this point Cathy Silak, one of the government lawyers, intervened to explain that Mandigo wasn't really qualified to testify on this. Griesa pointed out that the affidavit purports to deal with exactly these questions.

But finally he accepted Silak's plea that more qualified witnesses will be called by the government to deal with his questions.

This exchange was getting at the heart of the issues in the case. It tied together a lot that had been happening earlier.

#### Out to ban ideas

The fact is that the investigation is not based on activity at all. The only thing the government has on the socialists is their ideas.

Through many years of the most intense investigation, the government has not been able to come up with a single illegal act. That's why they've been forced to concoct this secret affidavit.

*Continued on next page*

## Judge to FBI: 'You're only helping SWP'

Do the FBI's lawyers think they are still trying the Rosenberg case or some other frame-up from the witch-hunt 1950s?

Judge for yourself.

In court April 10, FBI attorney Edward Williams took considerable time questioning SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, successfully establishing that the socialists hold the following views on world politics:

- The SWP "politically supported the battle of the peasantry in Vietnam for land reform and freedom from high rents and interest."

- "We completely politically opposed any imperialist intervention in Vietnam. . . . We campaigned against their being there. We thought it was a great danger for Vietnam and the people of the United States."

- "Our position was bring our boys home. We were famous throughout the world for it."

- On El Salvador: "We are firm, unconditional political supporters of the working people, the peasan-

try, the students and the Catholic people fighting against the terrible tyranny, for freedom from that tyranny, and to establish a democratic regime. . . . We are absolutely opposed to any American military intervention in El Salvador."

At this point, Judge Griesa felt compelled to interrupt, offering the FBI attorney some advice. The following exchange ensued:

\* \* \*

THE COURT: I am just curious as to what is the significance of any of these questions.

MR. WILLIAMS: It is to elicit, your Honor, the political philosophy of the Socialist Workers Party.

THE COURT: So?

MR. WILLIAMS: I think it is important for the record.

THE COURT: I don't know how it helps the Government. It might help the plaintiffs. These are matters of legitimate dispute among American people. Vietnam as we all remember, there were bitter

disputes among Republicans, Democrats, Catholics, Jews, Presbyterians, everybody else, atheist and so forth on all those issues.

And on El Salvador you can go up to Columbia University and see people demonstrating against the American involvement. That may be something that one or another people disagree with but it isn't exactly—I don't know—

MR. WILLIAMS: I don't wish to argue it here, your Honor.

Williams then launched into an inquiry into the antiwar movement in France during Barnes's stay there in the early 1970s.

"Did you have anything to do with the planning of the demonstration which resulted in a bomb going off outside the American Embassy in Paris?" the government lawyer asked.

"The question is not proper," the judge interjected, recognizing its crude character. When pressed by the judge, Williams couldn't name the date or even the month of the supposed bombing.

# ...trial

Continued from preceding page

Another important thing was established during Mandigo's stint on the stand.

In his questioning, Jordan was able to establish that Mandigo was not only the author of the public affidavit—he also put together the secret one as well.

In his questioning of Barnes, Williams had revealed some of the details on the secret affidavit frame-up.

Jordan now asked Mandigo if he found in the files "reference to some-



ERNESTO 'CHE' GUEVARA

thing called the International Operational Center of the Fourth International."

Mandigo replied, "I have been directed by the Deputy Attorney General not to answer that question."

"We have an awkward situation," Judge Griesa said, "because he submitted two affidavits. One you have, and one you don't have. . . . I don't know really exactly what to do about it yet."

In his public affidavit, Mandigo noted that the FBI had classified information on James P. Cannon, Joseph Hansen, and Farrell Dobbs, as well as on Jack Barnes.

"Is that information contained in the [secret] affidavit?" Jordan asked.

"I can't answer that question," Mandigo replied.

Since he was under instructions not to testify on the secret affidavit, it can be deduced that there is in fact information in it on those leaders. This indicates a possible broader frame-up of the SWP leadership in the secret affidavit.

### Same degree of accuracy

Not being able to see the secret affidavit, the socialists made an important breakthrough in establishing that it was prepared with the same methods and degree of accuracy as the public one.

Jordan asked Mandigo, "Were you just as thorough and careful in drafting the [secret affidavit] as you were in drafting [the public one]?"

"Yes, I was," Mandigo replied.

As *Militant* readers will recall, when the public affidavit first appeared George Brietman ripped it from a to z. It was incredibly shoddy, replete with errors. (See March 13, 1981 *Militant*)

As Mandigo left the stand, there could be hardly any doubt: The whole secret affidavit is a half-baked tale dreamed up by some informer angling for a few extra bucks that week.

### Sliding scale for finks

As the next witness, FBI burglar George Baxtrum testified (see page 13), the FBI pays its informants on a

sliding scale depending on how difficult their information is to obtain.

The charges in the affidavit are clearly of the most valuable sort, since it would be impossible for anybody else to obtain them except for the fink who made them up.

With few exceptions, the media has paid very little attention to this trial.

But the story that is unfolding here is amazing. Here you have a small socialist party taking on the secret police of the most powerful ruling class the world has ever seen. The government has at their disposal virtually unlimited resources.

But cops are cops. And when it comes down to it, they come up with the same two-bit frame-ups they've been putting on unionists and socialists for more than a hundred years.

If they are allowed to get away with what they are trying to put over here, then no worker, no Black person, nobody who takes a stand against government policy is completely safe.

Such morally corrupt behavior is not the ordinary face the ruling class likes to present. But it breeds freely in the poisoned atmosphere of the secret political police apparatus the socialists are challenging.

The socialists are asking the judge to rule that the whole framework of thought-control legislation and presidential edicts on which this stuff is based is unconstitutional as applied to the SWP and YSA.

And if it's unconstitutional as applied to open revolutionary Marxists—who proudly admit, as the government claims, that they are "internationalist to the core"—then it can hardly be used against anybody else.

## Honor roll

Jack Barnes told the *Militant* that during pre-trial testimony, the government asked him whether a number of leaders of the Fourth International and revolutionaries he had met had ever been imprisoned. Each one had been.

"I answered that yes, they had," he said. "I consider it an honor roll. And I could have added many more."

The following are some of the examples Barnes listed:

Ernest Mandel, arrested and convicted in Belgium during World War II by the German occupation troops. Held for several years in concentration camp in Germany.

Livio Maitan, banned from France by Gaullist officers for his support to the general strike in 1968-1969.

Art Young, arrested in Canada in 1970, during suspension of civil liberties under War Measures Act.

Georg Jungclas, harassed and arrested by regimes for decades in Germany for his role in the labor movement.

S.B. Kolpe, arrested numerous times by British officials during the struggle for independence in India.

Pierre Frank, interned in British prison camp during World War II.

Peng Shu-Tse, arrested and imprisoned several times in China, both by the British and the Chiang Kai-shek regime.

Luis Vitale, arrested by Pinochet dictatorship following 1973 military coup.

Hugo Moreno, arrested by military dictatorships in Argentina, Brazil, and Peru.

I.B. Tabata, exiled by apartheid regime in South Africa.

Alain Krivine, arrested at least twice by French government, including while running for president.

Hugo Blanco, imprisoned for seven years by Peruvian dictatorship for role in leading struggle of peasants.

Mario Roberto Santucho, imprisoned, tortured and then in 1976 gunned down in cold blood by Argentine dictatorship.

## SOCIALISTS SUE SECRET POLICE

Attend the trial. Show your support.  
Daily from 10 a.m. at the Federal Courthouse,  
Foley Square, New York City

### MEET THE WITNESSES FOR THE SWP AND THE YSA

Each Saturday during the trial, 3-5 p.m. Hear reports on the trial proceedings. Find out what socialists stand for. Refreshments.

In Manhattan:  
108 E. 16th St.

In Brooklyn:  
335 Atlantic Ave.

## What *Militant* said on Sallustro kidnapping

The following editorial appeared in the April 21, 1972, 'Militant.'

The events surrounding the April 10 assassination of Argentine army general Juan Carlos Sanchez and the death of kidnapped Italian industrialist Oberdan Sallustro on the same day have demonstrated the hypocrisy of Argentine President Alejandro Lanusse and his government. The Sallustro kidnapping was reported to have been carried out by the People's Revolutionary Army (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo—ERP). Responsibility for the assassination of Sanchez was reportedly claimed by both the ERP and the Revolutionary Armed Forces (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias—FAR), another guerrilla group.

Despite Lanusse's attempts to exploit the sympathy for Sallustro and Sanchez, it is clear that he had no concern for Sallustro's life. Nor does the Lanusse government care about the lives of the countless workers, trade unionists, students, and revolutionaries who have been abducted by police, imprisoned without charge, and tortured. The New York Times reported April 11 that the Argentine military dictatorship holds at least 500 political prisoners at the present time and that many of those arrested have disappeared—presumably tortured to death. Lanusse's charges of "lawlessness" against the kidnappers are dwarfed by the hideous crimes of his own government.

Although a struggle against the criminal policies of the Lanusse regime is necessary, we oppose acts of individual terrorism, such as kidnapping and assassination, in the struggle for social change. We believe such actions are harmful to the necessary task of mobilizing the masses of people in revolutionary action. As the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party said in its April 3 statement on the Sallustro kidnapping, "In place of powerful actions by the masses themselves, the ERP is attempting to substitute small actions by a tiny group."

History has proved that revolutionary changes occur only by the action of the great masses of people. To be effective, a revolutionary movement must use tactics that correspond with the general strategy of winning mass support and building a mass revolutionary-socialist party. Individual terrorist acts harm this strategy for several reasons.

First, actions against individual government officials or individual capitalists help to mislead working people and in Argentina, the poor peasants, as to the real character of their enemy. The capitalist state does not consist of just a few capitalists or generals, and it is impossible to defeat this state by wiping out its individual agents or demanding reforms in return for the lives of these individuals. The capitalist system can only be defeated by a mass movement that sweeps away the entire repressive institutions of the capitalist state—the police, army, courts, and prisons.

Second, individual terrorist acts make it appear as though violent, antisocial actions come from the revolutionary left, rather than from the ruling class. They help to shift the blame away from the capitalist rulers of Argentina—who are responsible for the day-to-day violence of police repression, exploitation of workers, and the poverty and malnutrition of hundreds of thousands of slum dwellers.

The task of revolutionaries is to isolate the ruling class politically by helping the masses of people to understand the injustice and criminality of the ruling class. The way to do this is through building mass actions in defense of the rights of working people.

Third, terrorist acts by revolutionaries serve to strengthen the hand of the ruling class by giving it a club with which to crack down on the entire workers movement. Since the kidnapping in Argentina, the government has unleashed a bloody wave of repression, sending army troops with dogs in house-to-house searches through the city of Buenos Aires. This repression will hurt the entire movement in Argentina.

The working people and peasants of Argentina are giving their answer to the Lanusse dictatorship through massive protest actions. April 4-7 witnessed an uprising in the city of Mendoza as well as a general strike that spread to Cordoba and San Juan.

Revolutionaries must participate in mass actions like these. They must be deeply involved in the dynamics of the class struggle, and they must project demands that sharpen the struggle against the government, broaden mass support, and develop the confidence of the masses in their own power. Only through leading such struggles can a mass revolutionary-socialist party be built that is capable of overturning capitalism in Argentina.

**Spied on SWP for two decades**

# Testimony of an FBI 'street agent'

By Michael Baumann

Ever wonder what a real-life "street agent" for the FBI does to earn his pay?

Special Agent (retired) George Baxtrum knows.

He was assigned for sixteen years—from 1953 to 1969—to spy on, burglarize, and otherwise "disrupt" the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Baxtrum was recently forced to give a rare personal account of this hidden side of the FBI badge.

He was called to the witness stand April 13, the eighth day of trial in the socialists' suit against U.S. government spying.

Under oath, Baxtrum related a chilling series of operations he had helped dream up and execute during a career largely dedicated to waging war on the socialists' right to exist.

In a dry monotone, he depicted the seedy underworld of informants, burglaries, and payoffs that he was part of.

Baxtrum described himself as a "street agent," one of the FBI employees who not only thinks up but carries out the dirty work. He told a hushed and packed courtroom how he had been commended and rewarded financially "five or six times" for carrying out ninety "surreptitious entries" (breaking and entering is the more common legal term) into the SWP's national headquarters in New York.

The aim, he explained, was to "install microphones" to facilitate "coverage" of SWP national gatherings, "look inside desks and file cabinets," and "photograph correspondence."

What he was particularly looking for, he said, was "correspondence that [indicated] the SWP continued to work toward the overthrow of the government of the United States."

Apparently there are few things the SWP does that are not considered to



FBI 'street agent' George Baxtrum testifies

involve attempts to "overthrow the government," since more than 8,000 letters are known to have been photographed in one six-year period alone.

A review of the letters shows particular FBI interest in SWP attempts to "overthrow" the government by seeking to meet federal, state, and local ballot requirements for fielding electoral candidates; and by seeking to defend the party's democratic rights in court.

#### Record of a career

Some of the high points—or low points, depending on your point of view—in Baxtrum's testimony were:

- Acknowledgement of having picked through trash and garbage discarded by the SWP national office for years—"trash cover" in FBI lingo. The aim of this rat patrol duty was apparently to turn up nuggets of information that might have been overlooked during hastier, middle-of-the-

night visits.

- Sixteen years of seeking to recruit and place paid informants in the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

- Maintaining, for the purpose of a federal "security index," a list of current addresses of all known SWP members.

- A decade or more of scrutinizing the bank accounts and all major financial transactions of the SWP. No difficulty in obtaining the banks' cooperation was reported.

- Countless efforts to harass and intimidate socialists through interviews with them, their relatives, friends, landlords, and employers.

- "Disruption" efforts specifically aimed at driving Black members out of the party, and at discrediting attempts to aid Black victims of racist frame-ups (see box).

Even all this, according to Baxtrum's testimony, was only what he himself had worked on or knew about

directly. In New York City alone, he said, "several other agents" were also assigned to the SWP.

#### Not a 'regulation party'

A number of aspects of the socialists' case against government spying were substantially documented by Baxtrum's testimony.

First, that the federal political police have systematically hounded, persecuted, and harassed the party for decades. This, despite the fact that an army of agents like Baxtrum could not find a single instance in which the SWP had violated any law, after a lifetime of looking.

Second, the trial confirms the view of "street agents" like Baxtrum that the SWP is somehow different from what Baxtrum described in a slip of the tongue as "the regulation political parties." Here, Baxtrum simply reflects the FBI's operational policy of acting toward the SWP as though the Bill of Rights had been repealed.

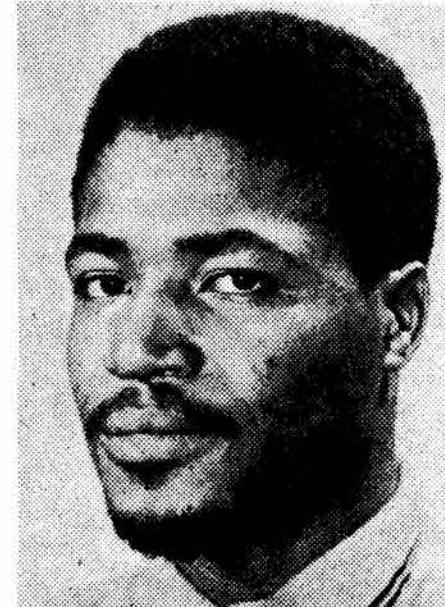
When asked by the attorney for the SWP what he meant by the term "regulation political party," Baxtrum defined it as "parties that are on the ballot automatically."

Realizing that he may have hopped onto thin ice, he tried to catch himself. "That is probably ill-phrased," he said. I'm just telling you how "street agents" see it.

Finally, that because the party is viewed as somehow beyond the protection of the law, absolutely anything that might be used to discredit and disrupt it is fair game. Hence, the decades of burglaries, wiretaps, and disruption efforts.

No wonder big-time drug dealers, Klansmen who attack Blacks and trade unionists, and whoever is murdering Black children in Atlanta have had little to fear from the FBI. The latter is too busy trying to destroy the Socialist Workers Party and others for the crime of disagreeing with the "regulation political parties."

## A special hatred for Blacks



Clarence Franklin, 1961

As long as there has been an FBI, Blacks who demand their rights have experienced a special hatred from this branch of the United States government.

Two instances of the FBI's campaign against Blacks came out in Baxtrum's testimony.

The first involved Baxtrum's attempt to discredit and demoralize Clarence Franklin, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Manhattan borough president in 1961.

Born into a family of Mississippi sharecroppers in 1932, Franklin had come to New York with his family at the age of ten.

Through the years he worked as a dishwasher, porter, and construction laborer. Along the way he picked up an arrest record. Hardly an unusual fact. Many Black workers in this society find themselves in trouble with the law.

Instead of noting with satisfaction that Franklin had not been charged with violating any law for several years but instead was involved in a perfectly legal activity—running for public office—FBI "street agent" George Baxtrum had different concerns.

On the witness stand, Baxtrum testified that he had been the author of an FBI disruption program aimed at discrediting the SWP and driving Franklin out of politics.

"The SWP talked a lot about the corruption of the other parties, the Republicans and the Democrats," Baxtrum said. "I thought that if the public knew a criminal was running

for the SWP it would have a positive impact."

Baxtrum and the FBI apparently used one of their numerous media contacts—this one at the *Daily News*—to break on election day the "story" about Franklin's arrest record.

Franklin was demoralized by the publicity about his record and eventually withdrew from politics altogether—as the FBI had hoped would happen.

The second instance involved the struggle of Blacks in Monroe, North Carolina, against Klan violence and racist "justice."

The SWP and the *Militant* had become involved in Monroe as early as

1958, defending Robert F. Williams, then president of the Monroe NAACP. He had received wide attention for organizing armed defense guards, which put a stop to a series of Klan attacks on the Black community.

In retaliation, local authorities charged two Black youths, aged eight and ten, with "assault on a white female" for the crime of having been kissed by their white playmate.

A committee, formed with the aid of the socialists and headed by Williams, succeeded in generating sufficient national and international publicity around the case to win their freedom.

Three years later, in August 1961, Williams was charged with phony kidnapping charges related to a Klan attack on a civil rights demonstration. The *Militant* returned to Monroe to help publicize the defense effort.

When a convenient burglary occurred at the home of a prominent local civil rights activist, at a time when *Militant* reporter George Weissman was the only person in the house, the FBI immediately began circulating, along with a news clipping on the robbery, this wretched bit of verse:

*Georgie-Porgie down in Monroe  
Found himself alone with the dough  
Called the cops and what did he say  
"Bad guys came and took it away"*

On the witness stand, twenty years later, Baxtrum still expressed satisfaction at the ingeniousness of the operation, although he modestly could not "remember" if he himself had composed the verse.

—M.B.

## Burglary tips from an expert

If the Government Printing Office ever decides to put out a how-to manual on breaking and entering, George P. Baxtrum is their man.

In testimony April 13, the retired street agent described in detail one of the "surreptitious entries" into the Socialist Workers Party national headquarters he helped organize.

"A certain amount of preparation is necessary," he warned. "After all, we are talking about an entry now and it should be done with caution."

How many agents are used in such "entries"? the socialists' attorney asked.

"About seven or eight," Baxtrum testified.

Did all the agents enter with you?

"No. Some remained outside."

Why?

"To assure the security of the operation inside."

Explain what you mean.

"Well, we were inside and we did not want to get caught inside. The function of the people outside was to warn the people so that they could leave."

What time of day was it?

"It wasn't during the day."

What time of night?

"Between midnight and 5 a.m."

One final tip:

Did you take your FBI identification with you?

"No."

## Major legal expenses for trial

# Political Rights Defense Fund seeks \$125,000

By Harry Ring

For nearly eight years, the Political Rights Defense Fund has played an indispensable role in supporting the socialist suit against spying and other violations of basic rights by the government.

It raised the enormous sums of money that were needed to get the case to court.

It published materials explaining the issues in the suit and won endorsement and support from hundreds of notable figures and important organizations.

Now that the trial is underway, PRDF must raise a substantial amount of money to cover the massively escalated costs involved in the trial proceedings.

Presiding Judge Griesa estimated from the bench that the trial may last two months.

Holbrook Mahn, director of fundraising for PRDF, told the *Militant* that it will be necessary to raise a minimum of \$125,000 before the trial is over.

Supporters of PRDF, Mahn said, must move into high gear in organizing to raise this money and, in the process, reach a maximum audience with the facts of the case.

### Seek union aid

One important activity, he said, is to discuss developments in the trial with shopmates and solicit financial contributions from them.

And, since a number of leading union officials have endorsed the suit, union contributions should also be sought for the Political Rights Defense Fund.

An especially important task, Mahn added, is to organize a nationwide round of PRDF support rallies during the trial. Such rallies, he said, should enlist the broadest array of public figures on the platform.

Recent support for PRDF, Mahn says, indicates that there are many people who support the fight the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are making in this case.

He said that the very good response to a national mailing of 40,000 sent out by PRDF prior to the trial confirmed this. A further fund appeal is now being made to an additional 8,000 people. Supporters around the country are being called to inform them of the latest developments and discuss contributions.

The Socialist Workers Party recently conducted a drive to raise \$75,000 to publicize the Marxist ideas which are central to the case. That fund has already been met in pledges and there is every reason to believe the goal will be reached.

Now PRDF supporters must undertake the job of raising the \$125,000 to be used for financing legal costs involved in the trial.

### Staggering costs

Nearly eight years of pretrial proceedings involved staggering costs—legal fees; research; the staff necessary to obtain and study tens of thousands of pages of previously secret government documents; and the travel expenses of witnesses being deposed in pretrial hearings.

For the government, of course, cost has been no object. But for the plaintiffs it was and remains a key problem.

With the opening of the trial, there has been a corresponding escalation of expenses. Witnesses must be flown in from all parts of the country. The legal staff, including paralegal research assistants, has to be expanded. Simply obtaining copies of trial transcripts costs hundreds of dollars a day.

These factors make it essential to

develop a campaign of reaching out to supporters of civil liberties who are in a position to give financial support to this fight. That means visiting people, organizing local mailings, conducting social events, and other fund-raising activities.

### UAW president

PRDF certainly has the necessary credentials. Auto union president Douglas Fraser has endorsed the suit, as have many other unionists. The NAACP is another important supporter.

Sponsors include Edward Asner; Harry Belafonte; Jane Fonda; Joseph Heller; Norman Lear; Arthur Miller; Pete Seeger; Studs Terkel; four of the Hollywood Ten, who served prison terms for defying the House Un-American Activities Committee; and many more.

Many of the hundreds of endorsers, Mahn noted, have contributed financially. They can be approached for additional contributions. And those who haven't contributed should be given the opportunity to do so.

This is a good time to solicit such contributions, Mahn observed. Initially, some were persuaded that Reagan's election signified a swing to the right, not only by the rulers of this country, but by broad layers of the people as well. Developments since the election are laying that argument to rest.

### Threats to rights

At the same time, the advent of the Reagan administration has increased concern about escalating attacks on constitutional rights.

The SWP and YSA case is the first of its kind to actually reach the trial stage. In presenting their case, the plaintiffs will detail illegal acts com-

mitted by government agencies against them. They will demand compensation for this and an injunction against future illegal acts.

The case challenges the "legal" foundations of governmental thought-control. The judge is being asked to rule that such statutes as the Smith Act, and related laws and executive orders, cannot be constitutionally applied to the SWP.

This would in effect invalidate these witch-hunt statutes. If they cannot be applied to an organization which proclaims its revolutionary objectives, they certainly can't be applied to others.

This is a suit based on a demand for unqualified application of the First Amendment—guaranteeing freedom of speech, press, and assembly to everyone, including revolutionaries.

This is an approach that partisans of civil liberties appreciate, even if they disagree with the SWP and YSA.

### Broad targets

The revelations of recent years made it plain that the attempt to curb constitutional liberties was not aimed at advocates of revolutionary socialism alone. The FBI's hounding of Martin Luther King and its attempts to destroy the antiwar movement, Black and Chicano organizations, and the women's movement testify to this.

The Reagan administration has made it clear that if it has its way, surveillance and other forms of repression will increase.

Only a determined counterattack can halt the attacks on civil rights and civil liberties. This gives special urgency to the SWP and YSA suit—and to the campaign of the Political Rights Defense Fund to raise the \$125,000 needed for prosecution of the government.



Sponsors of Political Rights Defense Fund include, left to right, Douglas Fraser, Benjamin Hooks, and Bella Abzug

## Blast FBI for 'probe' of Vermont mayor

By Michael Baumann

A new FBI disruption operation, this one mounted while the spy agency is actually in the dock in federal district court in New York City, has blown up in the bureau's face.

The FBI's recent heavy-handed investigation of newly elected Burlington, Vermont, Mayor Bernard Sanders has been blasted by Judge Thomas Griesa and Sanders himself. Griesa is hearing the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party against government spying and other rights violations.

Sanders's name was mentioned in the trial April 6 as an SWP presidential elector in 1980 who had recently been elected to public office. (Sanders was elected Burlington mayor as an independent candidate.)

The following day an FBI agent, badge in hand, stormed into the office of the Vermont secretary of state, demanding information on the new mayor's political past. As the FBI intended, widespread newspaper and television coverage of their "investigation" ensued.

In court April 13, Judge Griesa warned the FBI not to repeat the performance. He instructed the spy agency "to avoid any kind of malice or even an indication of malice in the FBI's handling of those things."

"They better be sensitive," he added, "to the fact the mere flashing of a badge in connection with some public official . . . anybody who is in a position of sensitivity . . . could get very badly misinterpreted."

Sanders, who was hit by the FBI probe less than twenty-four hours after he was sworn into office, told the *Militant* he was outraged by the incident.

"I would agree with the judge," he said, "who is quite correct in pointing out that when FBI agents come into a secretary of state's office attempting to 'investigate' the political background of a mayor of the largest city in the state, there's no question but that this opens up the potential for exploitation by the media and could be a source of embarrassment."

"As it happens, I think here in Vermont the citizens knew exactly what was going on, and no serious harm was done. But it's certainly a source of potential danger."

"The judge is quite right in chastising the FBI for their actions."

Sanders also reaffirmed his support for the SWP's suit.

"I proudly endorsed and supported [SWP candidate] Andrew Fulley for president in the November elections," he said, "and enjoyed the talk I had with him when he was up here during the campaign."

The suit, he said "is of concern to me as it is to every other citizen in this country who is concerned about civil liberties."

"There is no question but that the SWP has every right to engage in political activities as any other political party does in this country, and they have got to be free of harassment by the United States government."

## Oakland elections

# Socialist opposes tax hike for more cops

By Ruth Cheney

OAKLAND—On April 21 voters will elect a mayor and decide on Measure A, a ballot proposal to raise taxes to beef up the police force.

Opposition is growing to Measure A, which would give \$39 million more to the Oakland cops. Among those speaking out against the proposal is the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

Only one candidate in the mayoral race, Zakiya Somburu of the Socialist Workers Party, is calling for a "no" vote on Measure A. Incumbent Mayor Lionel Wilson has made support for the measure the main feature of his campaign.

The drive to pass Measure A, pushed by Wilson, the Chamber of Commerce, the police, and real estate interests, has been coupled with a media campaign to convince working people that "crime" is the major issue they face.

"All the talk we hear about crime is intended to take attention away from the real problems we face in this city," says Somburu. "Like the fact that the jobless rate for Black youth here is close to 70 percent; the fact that food stamps and Medicare are being cut; the fact that Oakland has one of the highest infant mortality rates in the country."

More cops, Somburu says, will only mean "more Black youth brutalized and more attacks on picket lines and unions."

"Meanwhile, the real criminals won't be touched," she went on. "Measure A won't stop the biggest killers walking our streets today—the cops themselves."

"It won't stop the criminal landlords who force us to live in substandard housing and pay exorbitant rent. It won't stop the big drug dealers who invade our communities and poison our children."

"And it won't stop the employers, who rob working people every day on the job and illegally discriminate against Blacks, Chicanos, and women."

In addition to campaigning against Measure A, Somburu has been active in protests against the killings of Black children in Atlanta.

She calls for busing to achieve equal education for Black and Chicano youth.

She is demanding jobs for all; for taking the war budget and using that money to build more schools, housing, hospitals, and mass transportation.

She calls for taxing the rich, not working people.

Somburu says that a labor party, based on the trade unions, is what Oakland's working people need to challenge the racist, antilabor policies of the Democrats and Republicans.

Her campaign has been endorsed by the Alameda County Peace and Freedom Party.



Socialist candidate Somburu: 'More police won't mean going after real criminals—like killer cops, landlords, and employers. Instead they'll be used against Blacks and unions.'

## Miami frame-up on 'criminal anarchy' charges

By Siobhan Dugan and Jane Roland

MIAMI—Dade County officials have dredged up a 1950's witch-hunt law and begun an attack on political rights.

Robert Hill of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) was arrested on March 18 and charged with "criminal anarchy" for selling the RCP newspaper on the Miami-Dade Community College campus.

The following week, supporters of the *Militant* newspaper were harassed by police on their way to a demonstration in solidarity with the Black children of Atlanta.

"Criminal anarchy" is a felony punishable by as many as fifteen years in jail. This law makes it illegal to belong to "subversive" organizations, to aid or advise anyone in the Communist Party, to assemble two or more people together for discussion or advocacy of "subversive" ideas or to in any way advocate the doctrine that the government should be overthrown by force or other unlawful means.

This law was enacted during the

McCarthyite witch-hunt period of the 1950s. A spokesman for the Dade County Police said, "Nobody around here can remember anyone being arrested for this."

County Judge James Rainwater raised Hill's bond from the initial \$2,100 to \$5,000. Hill stayed in jail until his attorneys convinced the circuit judge to release him on his own recognizance.

This arrest has been widely recognized as a serious attack on civil liberties. In a March 21 editorial, the *Miami Herald* said, "If the Dade Public Safety Department really wants to begin a crackdown on 'criminal anarchy,' let it forget about the hawkers of radical newspapers and concentrate instead on doing something about the crazies running around brandishing handguns, or anti-Castro extremists who hold military maneuvers on weekends in fields a stone's throw from homes and playgrounds."

The Miami-Dade Black Student Union sponsored a news conference for Hill on March 20. Representatives of a number of organizations made state-

ments to the many television and newspaper reporters who attended.

Janet Warren of the American Friends Service Committee spoke for the Coalition against Registration and the Draft, the Latin American-Caribbean Solidarity Association, and the National Lawyers Guild. "This is a clear case of political harassment," she said. "If the police were truly interested in driving out terrorism they would go after the Ku Klux Klan and right-wing Cuban terrorist groups. These are the sources of very real terrorist attacks here in Miami and around the country."

Yunis Ali, speaking for the BSU, added, "We hope that in the future, such individual incidents of harassment and injustice will not occur. There are so many more serious problems that need to be addressed—such as racism and poverty."

Andrea Baron, of the Miami Socialist Workers Party, attended the press conference to express the solidarity of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in this fight against political harassment.

"This time the police arrested a

member of the RCP. It could have been anyone with a point of view that the government doesn't like. The next victims could be other political groups, trade unions, Black and women's organizations.

"This law must be overturned and the prosecution of Hill stopped."

Although the director of community relations for Miami-Dade Community College told the *Militant* that the administration had absolutely nothing to do with the arrest, there have been other incidents of harassment since then.

"At our regular sale last night, March 19, three campus security guards approached us at different times wanting to know just what we were selling," explained YSA member Stan Hills. The Young Socialist Alliance is a recognized campus organization, and had been selling and distributing newspapers and other literature without interference.

The chapter wrote a letter to the campus newspaper explaining their opposition to the frame-up of Hill and the need for everyone to unite to defend civil liberties.

## Protests shake Yugoslav regime

By Suzanne Haig

Eleven people were killed and fifty-seven wounded in recent clashes between ethnic Albanians and police in the southern province of Kosovo in Yugoslavia, officials there admitted.

On April 2, tanks and troops were sent to the provincial capital of Pristina, and a state of emergency was declared.

The upsurge began on March 11 in Pristina, when several thousand university students marched through the streets, shouting slogans against the high cost of living and the lavish privileges enjoyed by government and party officials. They were attacked by police and dispersed with tear gas.

In the following weeks, actions

spread to at least six more towns, and to other sectors of the population. On April 1, about 10,000 students, miners, and others attempted to march on the local prison in Pristina to demand the release of those arrested in earlier demonstrations.

A large majority of Kosovo's 1.7 million people are ethnic Albanians. They face greater poverty, higher unemployment, and have fewer national rights than the other nationalities making up Yugoslavia.

Most of the protesters have called for the recognition of Kosovo as a full republic. Currently Kosovo is an "autonomous province." Some demanded unification with Albania and chanted

slogans in support of Enver Hoxha, head of the Albanian Communist Party.

These nationalist protests must be seen in the context of the upsurge of workers and farmers in Poland, and the growing discontent with the inequalities and restrictions on democratic rights in Yugoslavia.

As the London *Economist* commented March 21, "For the moment the Yugoslav leaders are worried not so much by the possibility that Kosovo's Albanians will try to split off from Yugoslavia and side with Albania, but that workers elsewhere in Yugoslavia might follow the example of Pristina's students and take their economic grievances to the streets."

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# 'Revolutionary Continuity': Ma

Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the U.S., The Early Years, 1848-1917. By Farrell Dobbs, Monad Press, 1980. 221 pp., \$5.45 paper.

## By Thabo Ntweng

Back in 1968, I became involved in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements, like many other Blacks. I was working in the New York subways at the time as an electrician.

The war, racism, and working in "the hole" pushed me to find out more about what I called "the system."

In school, in the papers, and over radio and TV, I had been told that the system was far too complex for me or other workers to understand. But I wasn't totally convinced. The actions by Blacks in the streets and the Vietnam war were enough to keep me looking for answers.

One day on my lunch break I stopped at a newsstand and picked up a magazine called *Progressive Labor*, published by a Maoist sect. The only thing this magazine did was add to my confusion.

My next attempt was buying a book that was supposed to be about Marxism. It turned out to be an attack on Marxism written by a right-winger.

I was reminded of all this while reading the introduction to Farrell Dobbs's new book, *Revolutionary Continuity*. In the introduction, Dobbs tells how he came to revolutionary ideas, and this stirred up my own memories of the process of political thinking that I and many other workers have gone through.

*Revolutionary Continuity* is the first of several planned volumes on the development of the Marxist movement in the United States. This volume covers the years 1848 to 1917.

Dobbs is well equipped to tell this story. He has been active in the Marxist wing of the American labor movement since 1934.

That was the year that Dobbs became a central leader of the Minneapolis Teamster strikes that helped pave the way for the rise of the CIO. Building on the victory in Minneapolis, Dobbs then became the central Teamster organizer of the first campaign to organize over-the-road truck drivers into the Teamsters union.

Between 1954 and 1972, Dobbs was national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

### Three political threads

The last section of Dobbs's introduction, reprinted along with this review, outlines three major threads of the book and of subsequent volumes in the series:

- 1) the fight to build industrial unions;
- 2) the fight to get the unions to think about and take action around social and political questions; and
- 3) the fight for independent political organization of the working class—a labor party based on the unions.

As implied by the title *Revolutionary Continuity*, these battles have been at the center of revolutionary working-class politics for many generations—and remain so today.

Even the fight for industrial unions was only partially achieved by the gigantic labor battles of the 1930s. Today the majority of the U.S. working class remains nonunionized, and the bosses are determined to deal blows to the industrial unions, which get in the way of their profit drive.

The need for an independent labor party is more pressing today than ever before. Only by labor organizing on the political level can the austerity and militarization offensive of the U.S. employing class be decisively defeated.

So this is not a book aimed at professors or radical labor history buffs. Above all, it is a book for workers who are today's generation in the



Thabo Ntweng grew up in Harlem. A former member of United Auto Workers Local 217 in Cleveland, he has also been a hospital worker and transit worker. In 1980 he was a student at the first session of the Socialist Workers Party Leadership School. Ntweng is a member of the SWP National Committee.



In the following passage from his introduction to 'Revolutionary Continuity,' Farrell Dobbs outlines the central themes of this book and the volumes that will follow it.

A cynic has said that we learn from history that people learn nothing from history. This may well be the case if one's insights into the historical process depend exclusively upon knowledge derived from academic and bourgeois sources, which ignore or downplay the central role of the class struggle as its motive force and a workers' government as its inevitable end product.

This study of the struggle for revolutionary Marxist continuity in the United States has been written from the viewpoint of the historic line of march of the working class. The narration of events is designed to bring forth the significance of the successive efforts of the working masses, and above all of the leading cadres, to attain a clearer class consciousness, a better understanding of their place and role under capitalism, and stronger forms of economic and political organization to oppose and combat the exploitation and domination of the capitalist rulers.

Because of the retarded ideological state of the United States working class compared to its counterparts in many other countries, its inability so far to break loose from the Democratic and Republican political machines and establish a mass independent labor party, and the small size of the revolutionary socialist forces within it, it may seem that very little or no progress has been made toward these goals. That would be a superficial estimate. So sterile and pessimistic a view is not warranted.

### Power of U.S. labor

The various and repeated attempts of the working class and its most advanced leaders to promote and reinforce its independent industrial and political organization have left their mark. This achievement is most evident of course in the trade union field. When the ranks are aroused and set into motion, the U.S. union movement is one of the most powerful, well-organized, and combative against the corporations and their government in the world. What it still lacks

revolutionary Marxist continuity of the U.S. labor movement. It traces how the generations of socialist workers who came before us have fought to build a revolutionary workers party in this country.

From this standpoint, the book starts out by reviewing the origins of the working-class movement in Europe and the development of Marxism there. It goes on to trace the growth of the American working class, its unions, and its various political currents.

The last two chapters travel halfway around the globe to Russia. Dobbs explains how the Bolshevik Party led the working class in that country in establishing the world's first workers state.

### Class struggle

What I especially like about this book is the clear and precise way it explains the nature of the class struggle—just as a revolutionary socialist would talk to a co-worker.

From the first chapter on, Dobbs strips away the mysterious complexities of how the system works:

"Since human society advanced beyond primitive communal possession of the land and the products of human labor, struggles between the exploited and exploiting classes over the disposition of the surplus product have been the motive force of

## Why this book

to realize its potential is the proper kind of leadership.

This book records and critically reviews the ways in which the successive generations of proletarian revolutionists have participated in the movements of the working class and its allies and sought to steer them along the correct path. As I have explained, their leadership was not always fruitful or well thought-out. They had their share of defaults and disappointments.

### Revolutionary continuity

Nonetheless, they maintained through the decades the continuity of revolutionary proletarian thought and kept the spirit of conscious anticapitalist resistance alive. Marxists today not only owe them homage for their deeds, their courage in the face of adversity, their perseverance in defending the welfare of the exploited and oppressed. We have a duty beyond this acknowledgment. That is to learn where they went



'I have had in view above all the oncoming white, female and male—who are destined chapters in the history of the emancipation past will help arm them to find the road to

history,' Dobbs writes. "Oppressed and oppressors have been arrayed in constant opposition to each other at every stage of social evolution."

*Revolutionary Continuity* shows how in modern times this class struggle pits a handful of owners of big banks and industries against the working-class majority, which has to sell its labor power to these capitalists in order to live.

The bosses try to hold down wages to the lowest possible level, and they are able to get away with this so long as workers bargain with them only as individuals. To resist these attacks on their wages and conditions, workers are driven to form trade unions.

The resulting battles between the employing class and organized labor increase the class consciousness and self-confidence of the workers.

"Every class struggle is a political struggle," Dobbs points out. "Therefore, organization of the workers as a class must include the formation of their own independent political party, a party that will represent a self-conscious movement of the immense majority, acting in the interests of the immense majority."

In most industrialized capitalist countries, this observation has already been confirmed by the formation over the past century of mass workers

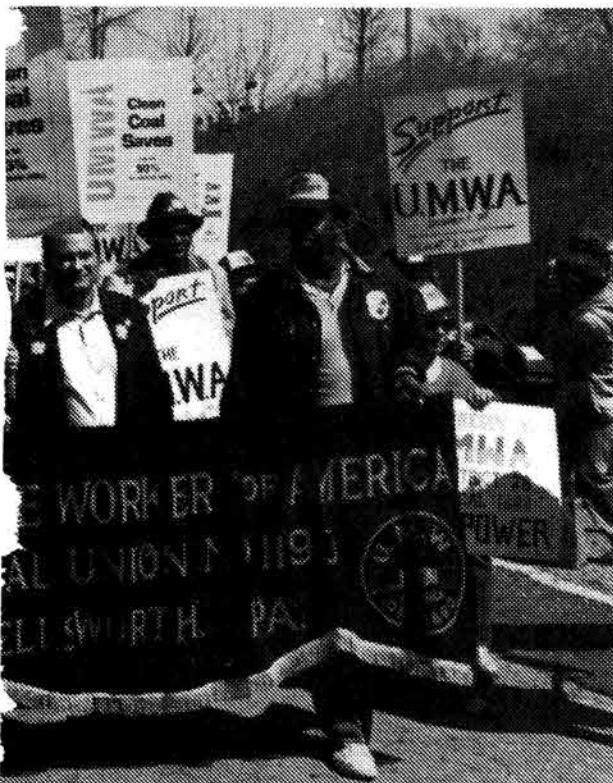
# Marxism & U.S. labor movement

## was written

long as well as what they did right so that their errors are not repeated.

That is the only way in which the heritage of the efforts of millions, often paid for in blood, can be put to good account and not beandered and nullified. For the Marxist program is simply the generalization of the strategic lessons learned by succeeding generations over the course of the class struggle as the toilers strive to replace the dictatorship of capital with their own.

Just as I have searched for accounts of past developments in the labor and socialist movements throughout my quest for political education, the current generation of fighters will need every bit of information that can be provided on the subject. For that reason I have undertaken this contribution to the history of revolutionary Marxism in the United States, beginning in this first volume with a sketch of the revolutionary continuity from which it stems. I hope today's worker militants will gain a mea-



Militant/Lou Howorth

eration of workers—Black, brown, and white—through their struggles to write the next chapter in the history of the toilers. Reliable knowledge of the past is the key to victory.'

ties. One question that has often crossed my mind is why this hasn't yet happened in the United States. Why do we have no mass labor party, nor a mass socialist party?

### How American labor developed

Dobbs points to two features that retarded the development of the early U.S. labor movement. The first was the domination of the economy by a slave labor system and the domination of the government by the slave owners. Until the Civil War this slowed the development of industry, thus of an industrial working class. The overwhelming bulk of the population was made up of nonproletarian producers—slaves, farmers, and small craftsmen.

I found enlightening an observation by Engels that is contained in the appendix to *Revolutionary Continuity*. It helped me understand why the great mass of Black slaves and southern poor whites were able to throw off their oppressors, and why the development of an industrial working class was crucial to revolutionary prospects in this country.

When, in the decline of the Roman Republic, the Italian peasants were expropriated from their lands, Engels wrote in 1887, "they formed a class of 'poor whites' similar to that of the Southern slave

sure of the enlightenment they seek from the experiences incorporated and lessons emphasized in these pages.

### Three threads

These volumes will trace three major threads through the history of the workers' movement in this country and its revolutionary continuity: (1) the fight for the economic organization of the working class into trade unions, and for organization along industrial rather than craft lines; (2) the fight for political and social consciousness and action by the workers' movement; and (3) the fight for the independent political organization of the working class, a labor party, to advance its interests and those of its allies against the interests of the ruling capitalist minority. Tying these threads together are the efforts by the Marxist wing of the workers' movement to gather the cadres of a proletarian revolutionary party needed to lead the fight to end capitalist rule, establish a workers' and farmers' government, and open the road to a socialist order.

These books will trace this record of working-class program, strategy, and tactics in the United States from three different vantage points. The first, which encompasses the entirety of this volume, is written from a historical standpoint, relying on prior narratives and the written record of participants.

### Future volumes

Beginning in 1934, the vantage point will shift to that of a direct participant in the economic, social, and political battles of the working class. Whereas my four-volume teamsters series treated these years primarily from the standpoint of a revolutionist in the unions, this history will review these events from the perspective of constructing a proletarian vanguard party.

The vantage point will shift again, beginning with events in 1940, to that of a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party. This final part of the series will then trace the aforementioned threads up to the 1960s, concentrating on the SWP's efforts to preserve, develop, and apply Marxism in the U.S. class struggle and to construct the nucleus of a revolutionary party of industrial workers in the United States.

I have had in view above all the oncoming generation of workers—Black, brown, and white, female and male—who are destined through their struggles to write the next chapters in the history of the emancipation of the toilers. Reliable knowledge of the past will help arm them to find the road to victory.

states before 1861; and between slaves and poor whites, two classes equally unfit for self-emancipation, the old world went to pieces."

### Land in West

The other factor holding back the growth of the American labor movement was that land in the West was relatively easy to obtain, virtually for free. This enticed many workers to flee the miserable conditions of factory life and take up the more prosperous life of a farmer.

The easy access to land and constant influx of immigrants into the United States, Engels wrote in another article included in the appendix to this book, "allowed, for many years, the great mass of the native American population to 'retire' in early manhood from wage-labor and to become farmers, dealers, or employers of labor, while the hard work for wages, the position of a proletarian for life, mostly fell to the lot of immigrants."

These conditions meant that a substantial hereditary proletariat—that is, a class of workers who knew that they and their children would be workers for life—did not take root in the early years of this country.

Dobbs explains that this also resulted in an atmosphere where the small layer of skilled workers

and small craftsmen were particularly vulnerable to petty bourgeois notions. Or, as Engels put it, "place hunters, advocates of free love, spirit-rappers, and other middle-class humbugs" were often able to derail the labor movement from its line of march.

(I should add here that among the many valuable things about this book that should not be overlooked are the thirty pages of writings by Marx, Engels, and Lenin on U.S. politics that are included in the appendix.)

### Industrialists take control

With the crushing of the slave system in 1865, the industrial capitalists took firm control of the nation. They became the real power behind the government.

There was unprecedented industrial growth—railroads, canals, the building of thousands of factories.

The working class expanded too. In 1860 only 1.3 million people were employed in manufacturing. By 1890, there were 5.8 million.

It was during this period of vast industrialization and consolidation of a hereditary proletariat that the capitalist class ceased playing any progressive role in America.

### Radical Reconstruction

"By 1877," Dobbs writes, "radical reconstruction had gone down to bloody defeat, and not only Afro-Americans but the entire working-class had suffered the worst setback in its history.

"The defeat was engineered by the dominant sectors of the industrial ruling class, who were incapable of carrying through a radical land reform in the old Confederacy and rightly feared the rise of a united working class in which Black and white artisans and industrial workers would come together as a powerful oppositional force, allied with free working farmers."

Dobbs describes the impact of this defeat, which has scarred the working class ever since:

"The rural poor and working class were forcibly divided along color lines. The value of labor power was driven down and class solidarity crippled. Jim Crow, the system of extensive segregation, was legalized. Racism was spread at an accelerated pace throughout the entire United States. The ideological basis for imperialist expansion was laid. All the conditions were created for the forging of the new Afro-American oppressed nationality."

The year 1877 also marked another major event for the U.S. working class: the great strikes that paralyzed many northern and midwestern cities. The federal troops that had been enforcing reconstruction in the South were pulled out—leaving Blacks defenseless against their enemies—and sent North to put down rebelling workers.

### Marxists vs. Lassalleans

In the post-Civil War period, the socialist movement in the United States was divided between two main tendencies: the followers of Marx and Engels, and the followers of Ferdinand Lassalle, who had been a leading figure in the workers movement in Germany.

The Lassalleans had a disorganizing effect on the working class and led it into many petty-bourgeois traps. The Lassalleans downplayed trade union struggles by the workers. Instead, their political strategy revolved around developing workers cooperatives that would produce and exchange among themselves, gradually pushing aside the profit-seeking capitalists. This scheme was totally utopian.

The Lassalleans also believed that workers should concentrate on using the ballot to win public office and get government financing of these co-ops. They rejected the Marxist view that the capitalists will never peacefully step aside just because they have lost at the ballot box.

Convinced that union struggles were self-defeating, the Lassalleans opposed the perspective of a labor party based on the unions to carry workers' struggles to the political level.

### Marxist tendency

The Marxists, on the other hand, stressed the need for socialists to be active in the trade unions. Socialists had to help build and lead the unions and bring a clear political perspective into them.

The workers could not advance their class interests by fighting only for economic demands through the unions, the Marxists said. The workers had to

*Continued on next page*

take on the capitalists politically, as well. And to do this the workers needed to have their own political party.

How the supporters of these two alternative perspectives fared during the decades following the Civil War is too complex to recount in this review. You'll find that out by reading the book.

But Dobbs explains that "both failed to meet their obligations to the working class."

The Lassalleans kept getting bogged down in reformist political movements dominated by middle-class elements, such as the Greenback Party.

As for the Marxist tendency, "A bent toward formalistic thinking prevailed" among its leaders, Dobbs explains, "especially on the question of independent labor political action.

"They concentrated on organization and education of workers at the trade union level. Their propaganda centered on projection of a militant course in industrial conflicts and on efforts to win immediate acceptance of socialist ideas. They appeared to assume that this would lead to mass recruitment into the revolutionary vanguard party and open the door to a direct struggle for a workers government.

"No provision was made in their programmatic outlook for transitional stages in building a mass revolutionary movement," Dobbs says. "Spontaneous labor party trends"—which were frequent during these years—"were considered premature, not worthy of serious attention, and that made it all the easier for reformists to misguide the workers politically."

Following these events from abroad, Engels corresponded with Marxists in the United States and sought to help them chart a correct political course. Dobbs's narrative and the book's appendices demonstrate how Engels stressed the importance of independent labor political action in the United States and urged the Marxists, most of whom were German-speaking immigrants, to turn their eyes toward the English-speaking majority of the American working class.

## SLP and SP

The last decade of the 1800s saw the end of any organized Lassalleian influence in the American labor movement. In 1889 the Lassalleans split from the Socialist Labor Party, which they had formed together with the Marxists in the late 1870s and had dominated for nearly a decade.

The split by the Lassalleans, Dobbs explains, put the SLP "in a better position to strengthen its trade union work and at the same time press for independent labor political action. Socialist election campaigns could now be used more effectively to advance this perspective in the unions, since the Lassalleans would not be present to use electoral activity to promote unprincipled political blocs with middle-class elements."

At the same time, the growth of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which had been founded in 1886, offered new opportunities for the SLP to build a class-struggle wing in the labor movement. The SLP had cadres in the AFL and had won respect for its role in the ongoing fight for the eight-hour day.

These prospects for forging a revolutionary Marxist workers party were squandered by the new leadership of the SLP, which came under the influence of Daniel De Leon. De Leon "made important contributions to the education of workers by concretizing and popularizing class-struggle fundamentals," according to Dobbs.

"His legacy was quite different, though, when it came to strategic and tactical concepts."

## No transitional approach

De Leon had no transitional approach to building a revolutionary workers party. He took no interest in trade-union struggles to improve workers' conditions. He ignored Engels's advice on the importance of forging a union-based labor party that could open the door to mass anticapitalist action and a revolutionary party.

Instead, De Leon sought to force the labor movement onto a socialist political course as quickly as possible by imposing SLP-initiated schemes on it.

At the turn of the century, a new party came into existence—the Socialist Party. It brought together various currents that had left the SLP with forces led by Eugene Debs, who had won a wide reputation as a militant union leader in the 1890s.

The right wing in the SP was headed by Victor Berger. It looked toward an evolution to socialism through the ballot box and gradual reforms of capitalism.

Debs was the most prominent figure in the left wing. As a militant union leader, Debs had demon-

strated his uncompromising commitment to the workers' interests. As a five-time Socialist presidential candidate, he was a fiery opponent of capitalist injustice.

After reading *Revolutionary Continuity*, however, I realized that previously I had not really understood Debs's strengths and weaknesses as a revolutionary leader.

I knew that Debs didn't understand the need for a Leninist-type vanguard party. I knew that he had stood back from taking responsibility to lead internal political fights. But I had never hooked up these two questions with Debs's political strategy.

Dobbs, on the other hand, ties all these questions together.

Debs "had no clear Marxist strategy to establish a workers government," Dobbs explains. "Thus he did not see the need for a politically homogeneous combat party and so did not accept full party leadership responsibility."

On the political level, Debs and the SP left wing rejected Berger's reformism but nonetheless looked to the electoral process as the road to socialism. The SP left wing also had no perspective of a labor party that could link working-class political battles to trade union struggles.

"It was taken for granted that the Socialist Party would be able to serve as the medium for mass working-class political action," Dobbs says. "A strategy for working through transitional steps in the rise of class consciousness to that political level was reduced to a mechanical formula—party support of labor struggles in industry, combined with socialist educational activity in the union ranks."

This incorrect view, Dobbs explains, helped AFL President Samuel Gompers "keep the AFL membership bogged down in the capitalist two-party system."

The left wing's lack of a political strategy was coupled with a confused approach to the fight for industrial unions. In this regard, Dobbs devotes considerable attention to analyzing the development of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

## Industrial Workers of the World

The formation of the IWW was the result of the radicalization of a large layer of workers who wanted to break the hold of what they called the "pure and simple" unionism of the AFL craft unions.

The IWW was founded in 1905 by a number of unions and militant workers who had broken from the AFL, as well as by Debs, De Leon, the SLP-dominated Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, and Bill Haywood and Vincent St. John of the Western Federation of Miners.

In its early years, the IWW met with some impressive successes. It sought to organize the large numbers of unskilled workers who had been excluded from union membership by the craft-oriented AFL leaders. It signed up Blacks, women, and immigrants. Thousands of Black timber workers and dock workers joined the IWW, for example. The IWW often fought for the rights of Black and women workers on the job.

So it was natural that many workers wanted to become part of this new militant movement.

But militancy without political leadership was

not enough. From the day it was founded, the IWW had serious problems that crippled its ability to develop into a mass industrial union.

One current in the early IWW was led by De Leon. If there were any remaining questions about his lack of tactical and strategic good sense, his approach to the IWW was proof enough.

In joining the IWW, De Leon had changed some of his former views on the relationship between the SLP and the unions. Earlier he had downplayed the role of unions, since he believed the SLP would be able to take political power through the ballot box.

When the IWW came along, De Leon made a political flip-flop. He now saw the industrial unions as the key to solving all the problems of the workers. As De Leon now saw it, once the workers made their wishes known by voting the SLP into power, the industrial unions would just step in and take over. They would institute collective ownership of the land and industry and take control of the distribution of society's wealth.

De Leon's efforts to involve the IWW in SLP political campaigns were resisted by others, leading to a split by De Leon's forces in 1908.

Debs represented another current of thought in the IWW. While continuing to support political action through the SP, Debs and other left-wing SP members subordinated such political activity to the task of building revolutionary industrial unions through the IWW.

Debs continued to support the IWW even after he left it following disputes in 1906 around political action and organizational questions.

## Anarcho-syndicalists

A third current represented in the formation of the IWW was that of the anarcho-syndicalists, such as Vincent St. John and Bill Haywood (after he left the SP in 1912). This current was a minority in the early years, but it soon became the dominant current.

The anarcho-syndicalists opposed participating in any type of political action. They were against workers voting, running candidates, or forming political parties. They believed that the workers could topple capitalism and establish their own power through industrial unions and struggles alone.

This mistake of trying to combine the building of an industrial union and a revolutionary party led the IWW to make serious mistakes that disoriented the workers movement for many years.

In line with this perspective, for example, the syndicalists conducted each strike as if it were a battle against the capitalist system as a whole. They even refused to sign contracts with employers. Often the result was that unions established by IWW-led strikes came under reformist leadership once the strike was over and a union structure had been established.

These errors were not entirely the responsibility of the anarcho-syndicalists, however. They simply held the most extreme version of an incorrect conception advocated by all the various currents that backed the IWW, including Debs.

As Dobbs explains, all these currents believed that the IWW "would function from the start as a revolutionary union. It was to serve as the medium through which to mobilize the workers in a struggle

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for power, the objective being to abolish capitalism and establish a socialist order.

"But this perspective didn't square with the current reality," Dobbs explains. "Class consciousness was still at an elementary level among the vast majority of workers. . . . they were not consciously anticapitalist. They were ready as yet for nothing more than a struggle through the trade unions for economic and social reforms under the existing system."

"If in those circumstances the IWW was to make headway, it had to start from the current level of mass consciousness and involve the workers in trade union actions, so that through these experiences they could begin to generalize their thinking in class terms."

The supporters of the IWW's revolutionary unionism were looking for a shortcut to class consciousness. As a result, they ignored *both* the need for strong industrial unions that sought to include all workers, regardless of their current political views, and the need for a revolutionary workers party.

#### Ignoring the AFL

This lack of political clarity also led the IWW leadership and its supporters in the SP left wing to take a sectarian stance toward the AFL. At the time the IWW was founded, the AFL included the great majority of organized workers in the country.

When SP left-wingers and other militant supporters of industrial unionism pulled out of the AFL, this left the union totally in the hands of Gompers and his gang. This enabled them to deepen their bureaucratic control over the AFL.

The SP right wing remained in the AFL. It unsuccessfully sought to win AFL support for SP election campaigns, but otherwise went along with Gompers's efforts to limit the AFL to a craft-union perspective based on skilled workers.

With a correct perspective, the IWW could have influenced the direction of the AFL. It could have fought to have the industrial unions it helped organize admitted to the AFL. It could have pressured the AFL to organize industrial workers, including the most oppressed layers—unskilled workers, Blacks, and women.

But the IWW and SP left wing did not conduct such a fight. As a result, the vast percentage of industrial workers were still not unionized when the U.S. rulers led the country into the first worldwide imperialist slaughter in 1917.

#### War and revolution

As revolutionary socialists have held from the time of Marx and Engels, the struggle for socialism by the proletariat is an international one. What the workers in any one country may lack at a given time, those in another country may be developing.

This is the subject of the last three chapters of *Revolutionary Continuity*. Dobbs traces how the SP shattered under the impact of World War I and the Bolshevik revolution in Russia.

The SP right wing and various centrist elements ended up supporting the U.S. imperialist war effort. Debs courageously resisted this capitulation, but he and other left-wingers were in a minority and offered no revolutionary perspective to fight the war and advance the struggle for a workers government.

The revolutionary Marxist program advocated by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, therefore, had a profound impact on those in the SP left wing who were looking for a way out of the political impasse that all wings of the U.S. workers movement had come to.

#### October 1917

The victory of the October 1917 revolution, Dobbs says, "opened the way for new advances throughout the world socialist movement. It opened the door to solving the crisis of revolutionary leadership that had developed with the rise of imperialism and whose horrible results were demonstrated with the outbreak of the war. And it made possible reestablishment of the consciousness of revolutionary Marxist continuity on a world scale."

Dobbs describes how the Bolsheviks led the Russian workers in fighting the imperialist war, toppling the political rule of the tsar and then the Russian capitalists, and establishing the world's first workers state.

"The impact of these historic events on the socialist-minded workers of the United States, and how Lenin and Trotsky, through the Communist International, sought to help them develop a revolutionary strategy and forge a proletarian Marxist party, will be the opening theme of the second volume of this narrative," says Dobbs in the closing sentence of the book.

So if you're looking for some enjoyable and useful reading, pick up this book. And if you have a friend or co-worker who is interested in the class struggle in the United States, turn them on to it too.

As for me, I'm already waiting for volume two.

# Chicano youth say they're ready to fight against Reagan's attacks

By Nelson González

PHOENIX—More than 400 Chicano youth turned out for the National Chicano Student Conference held here April 1-4.

Sponsoring organizations included the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Atzlan (MEChA), United Mexican American Organization, and Mexican-American Youth Organization.

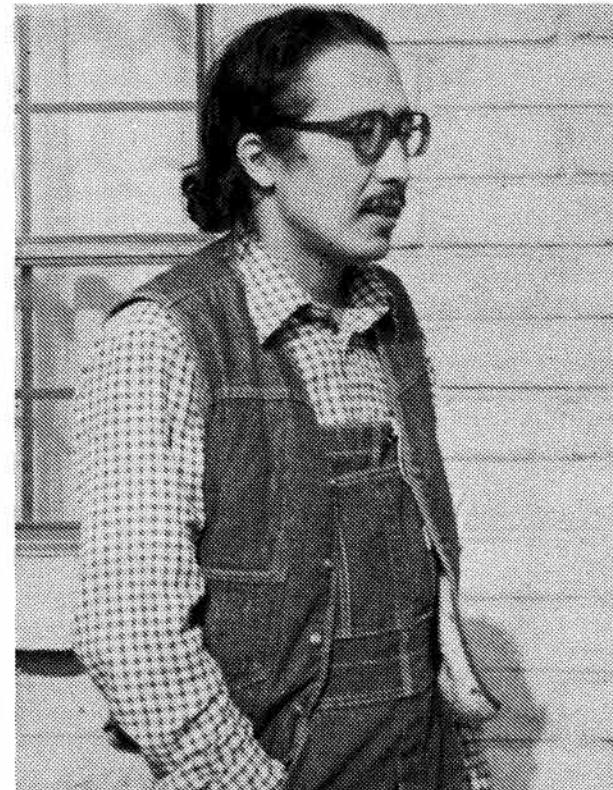
Special guests included Lupe Sánchez and Gustavo Gutiérrez from the Arizona Farm Workers union; Tony Bustamante from the National Coalition on the Hanigan Case; Kiko Martínez, a Chicano activist who faces frame-up charges in Colorado; Russell Means from the American Indian Movement; and others.

Students from all over the Southwest and from West Coast campuses in Sacramento, San Diego, Los Angeles, and elsewhere attended the conference. Approximately half of those attending were high school age youth.

From the very beginning of the conference it was clear that these Chicano youth were eager to get down to the business of organizing to defend the Chicano community against the attacks of the Reagan administration.

At the opening assembly of the conference April 1, one participant suggested holding a workshop on El Salvador. There was a lot of support for this idea. A young Chicana from New Mexico pointed out that "the people of El Salvador are dying for us and we should take a stand for them."

As a result of this discussion virtually all the workshops discussed the interconnection of the Reagan administration's austerity and war drives,



Militant/Silvia Zapata  
Colorado frame-up victim Kiko Martínez was among special guests at Chicano youth conference.

the struggle in El Salvador, and the attacks on the Chicano people.

At an evening program the following day, Lupe Sánchez blasted the Reagan administration and the Democratic Party.

Gustavo Gutiérrez pointed out the leading role that Chicano miners and farm workers played since the 1800s in the emergence of the labor movement. He underscored the necessity for Chicano students to use their education to defend Chicano rights.

Close to 100 people attended the bilingual education workshop at the conference. Tony Martinez, a Washington, D.C., law student, gave his analysis of the effects of the Reagan economic budget on Latinos.

He pointed out that many programs affecting Latinos would be completely wiped out or severely curtailed. About one million people would be thrown off the welfare rolls. He reported on cutbacks in bilingual education and the drop in Chicano enrollment in colleges.

The workshop passed a resolution supporting a May 18 school boycott by Sacramento, California, parents protesting cuts in the city education budget.

The immigration workshop was led by Herman Baca of the Committee on Chicano Rights. It attracted 100 people.

Baca blasted the fake amnesty plan initiated by the Carter administration and now being considered for implementation by the Reagan administration.

He denounced congressional proposals for importing Mexican "guest workers" as nothing more than the old Bracero Program of providing agribusiness with ultra-cheap labor while denying all rights to Mexican workers. All the "guest worker" idea adds to the Bracero Program is the requirement that all U.S. workers carry government identification cards.

This workshop passed resolutions urging the different MEChA and other Chicano organizations to go on an educational campaign on their campuses around the issue of immigration. In addition, a resolution supporting an April 11 Tribunal on Immigration in San Diego was passed.

The labor workshop centered on organizing of undocumented workers by the Arizona Farm Workers. It was led by Lupe Sánchez and Gustavo Gutiérrez. The workshop voted to support the AFW proposal that undocumented workers have the same rights as any U.S. citizen.

Almost every workshop passed a resolution in solidarity with the people of El Salvador. The conference urged participation in the April 18 national day of actions planned by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

A resolution urging efforts to register Chicano voters was amended to denounce the Democratic and Republican parties.

Resolutions urged support to protests against racist violence and the union movement's boycott of Coors products.

In very visible fashion throughout the whole conference many people wore the green ribbons in solidarity with the Black community of Atlanta.

# Conrail boss offers cutback plan

By Karen Kopperud

BALTIMORE—Lay off 10,000 rail workers. Forcibly transfer another 11,000 to state and federal employers. Wring at least \$200 million a year from reduced wages and benefits. Eliminate protective work rules. Get rid of any line or facility that does not make money.

This is the essence of Conrail's March 15 Labor Report to Congress.

Conrail (Consolidated Rail Corporation) is the nation's largest freight carrier. One-third of U.S. freight originates and terminates on Conrail lines.

It employs 75,000 people, operates 18,000 miles of track. It handles 240 million tons of traffic annually, one-third of it coal.

On an average working day, 230,000 people get to and from work on Conrail trains.

Some \$3.3 billion in state and federal funds have been poured into Conrail since it was formed in 1976 from bankrupt remains of the Penn Central and six other northeastern rail lines.

Conrail has been a testing ground for reduced crew sizes and other schemes to erode railroad working conditions, safety, and efficiency.

The Reagan administration has announced it will stop funding Conrail. L. Stanley Crane, Conrail chairman, is using this threat to force rail unions to accept his "moderate" cutback proposals.

Crane states that "the alternative" to the cutbacks "is almost certainly worse for Conrail's employees."

If Conrail shuts down, he writes, "it is likely that many thousands of its employees would not be offered jobs on other railroads. Those who would be offered jobs might well find . . . that their continuing employment would entail a change in working conditions and reduced seniority."

Of course, the same thing will happen in a different way if Crane gets his way.

Crane has no stake in running a good railroad. His problem is to continue paying stockholders.

The banks and other big investors who own the railroads don't face the same no-win proposition as rail workers and riders. Under either the Reagan or Crane plans, tax gimmicks, financial manipulation, increased exploitation of the work force, price gouging, and reduced service will help them come out ahead.

That ripoff of rail workers and riders is what supporters of the April 29 demonstrations called by the rail unions are fighting to end.

Karen Kopperud is a member of UTU Local 165 on Conrail.

# Women protest attacks on their rights



International Women's Day demonstration at Armagh jail in Northern Ireland demands political status for women republican prisoners.

By Janice Lynn

Women throughout the world are being especially hard hit by the international capitalist offensive that is being waged against working people.

Not only are women disproportionately affected on the economic front—by unemployment, inflation, and drastic budget cuts—but the capitalist rulers are trying to roll back all the gains fought for and won by women over the past decade.

Women's right to abortion, the right to a full-time job, equal pay for equal work, government-financed child care, affirmative action in employment, and other rights fought for by women are all being challenged and eroded even further.

This is aimed at trying to divide and demoralize the working class and to prepare the way for demanding greater and greater sacrifices from all working people. It is part of the ruling class drive to try to make the working class pay for the capitalist economic crisis.

On March 8—International Women's Day—some initial steps in responding to this offensive against women's rights were taken. In several countries, sections of the labor movement have come out in defense of women's rights, indicating the potential for bringing the power of the entire international labor movement into this struggle.

## Abortion rights

One of the most severe attacks is against women's right to abortion. This was the focus of a number of the women's day demonstrations.

In the United States, capitalist politicians are carrying out a concerted campaign to undercut the landmark 1973 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that gave women the constitutional right to safe, legal abortion.

This decision had given impetus to the fight for abortion rights in many other countries, where significant victories were also won.

But in 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court dealt women a cruel blow. It upheld the constitutionality of a 1976 congressional ban on government funding for most abortions, known as the Hyde Amendment. This means that thousands of U.S. women are denied the right to abortion because they are poor—with Latinas and Black women

being especially hard hit.

As a result of the Hyde Amendment, the number of U.S. government-financed abortions dropped from 294,600 in 1977 to 3,985 in 1979. Today there are only nine states and the District of Columbia that provide state funding for abortions.

In yet another blow to women's right to abortion, the U.S. Supreme Court on March 23, 1981, upheld a Utah state law requiring doctors to notify teenage women's parents before performing an abortion. Capitalist politicians in other states immediately announced they would favor similar laws.

And more attacks are being planned. A so-called Human Rights Bill is now before the Senate. This bill would legally define a fetus as a person. If passed, it would open the way for outlawing abortion altogether. President Ronald Reagan has endorsed this bill.

Growing numbers of U.S. women want to resist these attacks. The 100,000-member National Abortion Rights Action League reported 10,000 new members since the November U.S. elections.

In commemoration of International Women's Day, thousands of women's rights activists rallied and demonstrated in numerous states throughout the country to make known their opposition to these attacks on abortion rights and the other ruling class attacks on women.

The struggle for the right to legal abortion has sparked large demonstrations in a number of other countries. In Italy some 10,000 women's rights supporters marched through Rome March 8 in support of abortion rights and to protest the Vatican's reactionary anti-abortion stand. Another 20,000 protested in other cities throughout Italy.

In Spain, numerous meetings, rallies, and demonstrations took place in cities and towns throughout the country to mark International Women's Day. Abortion has been illegal in Spain since 1939 and divorce is still outlawed.

Some 1,200 women demonstrated in Vienna, Austria, March 7, calling for the right to free abortion throughout the world.

Demonstrations and rallies also took

place in various cities throughout France.

And 2,000 women's rights supporters demonstrated in Copenhagen, Denmark.

## Labor movement

In Britain, the labor movement has taken an important lead in the abortion rights campaign. A successful labor movement conference on abortion was held in London on March 14.

The conference decided to fight for better facilities for abortion under Britain's National Health Service. Because of the general attacks on health services, abortion facilities are especially affected.

The labor representatives also agreed to work toward positive legislation for a woman's full, legal right to choose abortion. Although there are no anti-abortion bills pending in Parliament, neither are there any laws that fully guarantee women's right to legal abortions.

At the labor conference there were 183 delegates from trade unions, 23 from trades councils, and 70 from constituency Labour Parties. The conference was endorsed by the National Executive committee of the Labour Party.

An anti-abortion bill—the Corrie Bill—was defeated in Parliament last year primarily as a result of the involvement of the trade-union movement and the Labour Party. Mass marches and rallies drew up to 40,000 people.

The increasing involvement of the British labor movement in the struggle for women's rights is a powerful example of how to fight back against the ruling class antiwoman offensive, and how to win some victories.

In another important display of opposition to the ruling class offensive, nearly 10,000 women and their supporters demonstrated March 7 in Brussels, Belgium. The theme of the demonstration was "Women Against the Crisis."

What was especially significant about this action was that for the first time, the Belgium General Federation of Workers (FGTB)—Belgium's largest trade union federation—played a significant part in the mobilization. Trade union women came from various facto-

ries, hospitals, department stores, and offices. There were also numbers of unemployed women.

In Canada, 4,000 women and men rallied in Toronto March 7, to demand child care and economic independence. And in Montreal, more than 6,000 marched the same day in a demonstration called by the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) and three other union federations.

Issues addressed in the Montreal labor-sponsored action included the need for increased abortion rights and expanded child-care facilities, opposition to violence against women, and the demand for access by women to nontraditional jobs.

## Women against war

Throughout West Germany some 10,000 women participated in a week-long campaign of Women Against War. Highlighting the events was a protest march of 3,000 against the U.S. air base in Ramstein.

An antiwar message was also a major demand of the 3,000 demonstrators at the Women's Day protest in Stockholm, Sweden.

And in Athens, Greece, the 1,500 demonstrators marking International Women's Day on March 12 spoke out against the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the arms race.

An important women's action also took place in Ireland. Some 1,000 people took part in a March 8 picket outside the Armagh jail—the women's prison in Northern Ireland where Irish republican women prisoners are demanding political prisoner status.

In Chile, forty-one people were arrested for taking part in meetings to commemorate International Women's Day. And more than fifty women were arrested March 6 as they were preparing to occupy vacant land in northwestern Santiago to dramatize their need for housing.

In Switzerland, women mobilized in support of an upcoming constitutional referendum on equal rights for women. It was only in 1971 that Swiss women even won the right to vote in federal elections. A 2,500-strong demonstration took place in Bern on March 8.

An international day of action on May 16 in support of abortion rights is being built in countries throughout the world. Massive participation by the international labor movement could play a major role in preventing any further setbacks in the abortion struggle and could pave the way for new and important victories for women's equality.

From Intercontinental Press

## N.C. ERA march

North Carolinians United for the ERA has called for a May 2 march in the state capital of Raleigh. About fifty organizations have endorsed the march, including the National Organization for Women, the state Communications Workers of America, and the North Carolina Council of Churches.

In February, Democratic and Republican delegates agreed that there would be no discussion or vote on the Equal Rights Amendment in the North Carolina legislature during 1981 and 1982. Approval by three more states is needed to win ratification of the constitutional amendment by the 1982 deadline.

The May 2 march will begin at 12 noon, at the intersection of Peace and Salisbury, in front of the Archdale Building.

For more information call (919) 828-0568 or 829-1641.

# Police kill three in Santo Domingo strike

By Claudio Tavárez

SANTO DOMINGO—On April 6, police here opened fire on striking municipal workers, killing three people, including a journalist. Two days earlier, police in Mao, some 200 kilometers from the capital, shot and killed a student during demonstrations against the visit of U.S. warships to the Dominican Republic.

In addition to the demonstrations against the U.S. warships and the strike by municipal workers, some 3,000 Dominican doctors are on strike, demanding higher wages and an increase in the government's health-care budget.

Numerous student groups, unions, and political organizations took part in the demonstrations against the presence of the U.S. warships. The ships—the *Josephus Daniels* and the *Spiegel Grove*—are on a tour of the Caribbean. Although the United States International Communication Agency stated

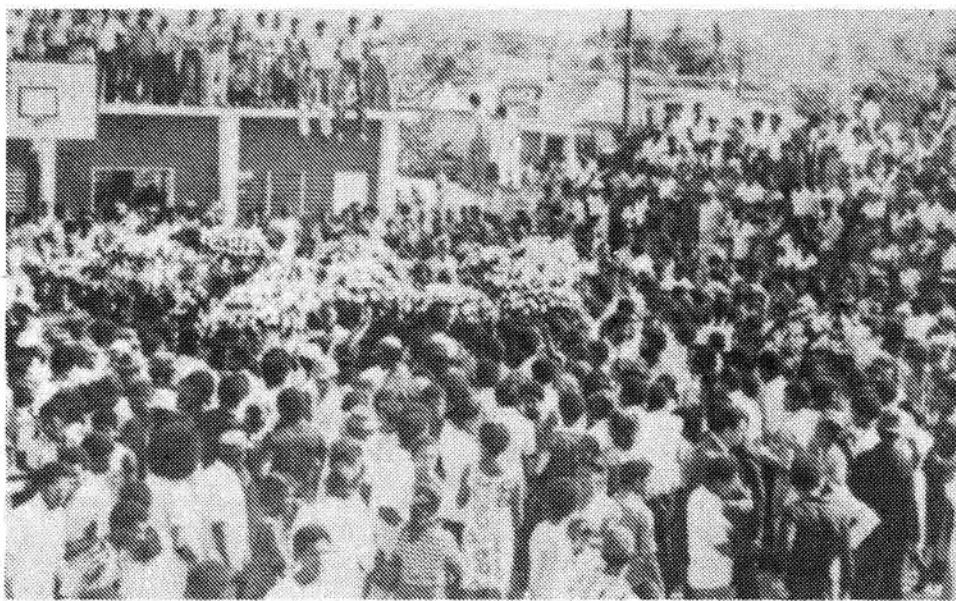
were arrested. Journalists covering the scene were threatened and had their film confiscated. One reporter, Mateo Morrison, was beaten by the "Black Helmets" of the National Police and had to be hospitalized.

Other protests were to take place at the university campus in Santo Domingo and in cities around the country. But the police prevented many demonstrations from taking place by occupying the sites beforehand.

As a result, there were a number of confrontations between the police and students. Students who tried to go ahead with the protests were attacked with tear gas, clubs, and guns.

The unequal battles between police and students continued for several days after the U.S. warships had left the Dominican Republic.

On April 4 a student of agricultural sciences, Ángela Peña Guzmán, was shot and killed by police in a classroom at the Northeast Regional Uni-



Santo Domingo: Hundreds file past open coffin of slain journalist Marcelino Vega.

that "the visit will strengthen the spirit of cooperation that exists between the United States and the countries visited," people in the Dominican Republic were reminded of a previous April visit by U.S. warships in which thousands of Dominicans were killed.

On April 28, 1965, U.S. vessels landed American troops in the Dominican Republic to put down an insurrection aimed at restoring elected President Juan Bosch to power. In all, more than 42,000 U.S. troops took part in the intervention, with forty U.S. warships offshore. When the troops were withdrawn, they left behind Joaquín Balaguer as the new president, who remained in power for twelve years.

U.S. troops also occupied the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924, during which time the country was under direct U.S. military rule.

The real purpose of the tour of the U.S. vessels, which began in early March, is to threaten the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America. It is aimed against those who have already freed themselves from the imperialist grip—like the peoples of Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua—as well as those who are struggling for their liberation, like the people of El Salvador.

Given the history of U.S. interventions in the Dominican Republic, and the Pentagon's military aid to the genocidal military/Christian Democratic junta in El Salvador, the Dominican people strongly opposed this show of strength by the U.S. Navy.

Many political and democratic organizations organized protest activities against the presence of the warships. The first was to be a massive, peaceful demonstration on Avenida George Washington, which runs along the Caribbean shore in the capital.

Three hours before the demonstration was scheduled to begin, the entire length of the avenue was occupied by the military. When demonstrators began arriving at the assembly area, they were attacked by police. Hundreds

versity Center in the province of Valverde Mao.

On April 6 in Santo Domingo, police opened fire on striking municipal workers. In the gunfire, journalist Marcelino Vega and two youths were killed.

These murders indicate the extent to which President Antonio Guzmán Fernández is willing to resort to violent repression to deal with the growing opposition to his anti-working-class policies.

The National Council of Trade-Union Unity (CNUS) has called an April 12 demonstration to protest the police shootings.

From *Intercontinental Press*

## SWP responds

The following telegram was sent on April 8 to Dominican President Guzmán Fernández. It was signed on behalf of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party by Omari Musa, who had just returned from a recent tour of the Dominican Republic.

"We condemn murder of Marcelino Vega and three others this week. Vega helped me during recent tour of Dominican Republic. He will be missed. The police assassin who shot him in cold blood must be prosecuted.

"Dominican workers and students refuse to allow U.S. warships in while U.S. 'advisors' and arms murder Salvadoran people. In same spirit U.S. dockworkers refuse to load material for bloody Salvadoran junta. This solidarity grows irrepressibly.

"We support CNUS call for April 12 protest rally and demand you keep hands off.

"Stop repression of journalists and workers movement."

## Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean



and the

Caribbean

### 'Solidarity' denounces aid to junta

The March issue of *Solidarity*, magazine of the United Auto Workers, features an article entitled, "El Salvador: Pentagon Aid Draws Protest."

The article states: "A long-smoldering revolt has exploded against the small class of wealthy landowners, known as the 'fourteen families' . . . And now, growing U.S. military aid to the harshly oppressive junta has stirred a new anti-war movement in the United States." The article cites growing opposition in Congress and from unions, describing the West Coast longshoremen's boycott of arms shipments to El Salvador.

While right-wing military forces financed by wealthy landowners have been blamed for many killings, *Solidarity* goes on, the ruling junta has been unwilling to stop the terror.

The article points to a resolution adopted by the June 1980 UAW convention. It denounces the Salvadoran oligarchy, pointing out how it "uses the military rulers as a private security force to protect its wealth and privilege." The resolution goes on to urge Washington to "cut off any further military and economic aid" from such Central American dictatorships (except aid channeled through private charities).

The article points out that U.S.-based corporations like Texas Instruments, Sears, Apex, and Eagle International earn superprofits by paying Salvadoran workers an average of \$4.40 a day while laying off workers at their U.S. plants. It notes that for decades in El Salvador strikes have been banned and labor leaders murdered.

"The junta now running El Salvador with U.S. aid has made it clear how it feels about workers' rights," concluded the *Solidarity* article. "It has frozen wages, stopped collective bargaining, and conscripted workers into the military as a device to curb strikes. As long as it stays in power, the multinationals will have an ally in their efforts to reap as much in profits as they can from the labor of the long-suffering Salvadoran people."

### Mendoza tour reaches unionists

During the first week in March, Tulio Mendoza, a Salvadoran teacher and trade union leader who is seeking political asylum here, made a very successful tour of the Rocky Mountain area.

Mendoza fled El Salvador when his name was placed on a "hit list" by the "death squad," a right-wing terrorist arm of the Salvadoran military. He is now threatened with deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

As a result of his tour hundreds of trade unionists, students, and others signed petitions addressed to President Reagan, backing Mendoza's right to asylum.

The high point of the tour came when Mendoza spoke to 100 members of UAW Local 766.

He also spoke to meetings of 150 people in Salt Lake City, 150 at the University of Colorado in Boulder, and 200 people in Denver. The later meeting was sponsored by the Justice and Peace Committee of the Catholic Church.

While in Denver, Mendoza met with union officials, including Bill Himmelman, president of the Denver Area Labor Federation; Tim Flores from the Colorado AFL-CIO; and Ellen Lavroff, president of the Colorado Federation of Teachers.

In addition, he was interviewed by the *Rocky Mountain News*, and the *Denver Post*. Interviews also appeared in *La Cucaracha* and *La Voz*, latino newspapers read by the Chicano community.

### Colorado teachers back Mendoza

On March 17, the following letter was sent to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in San Diego:

"On March 14, 1981, the Colorado Federation of Teachers, AFT/AFL-CIO, passed a resolution to support Tulio Mendoza y Figueroa's right of asylum in the United States, as well as the granting of asylum to all Salvadoran refugees presently in this country or who may come."

"We deplore the deportation of these refugees who are being returned to El Salvador to almost certain death. We deplore the breakup of their families. As they have arrived destitute and fleeing from persecution, to set bail at any figure is to defeat the purpose for which they come. If we can accept thousands of Asians as refugees, we can certainly accept a few hundred Salvadorans."

"We demand that you cease unjust treatment of Salvadoran refugees and that you grant them the political asylum they seek and justly deserve."

Sincerely,  
Dr. Ellen C. Lavroff  
President

### Show 'Revolution or Death'

*Revolution or Death*, a forty-five-minute documentary, covers the rise of the military dictatorship in El Salvador, the role of Washington, and the development of the popular movement and the Revolutionary Democratic Front. It features interviews with Salvadoran workers and peasants. Order from: UNIFILM, 419 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10016, (212) 686-9890. Price: \$600.00.

—Nelson González

Please send information on activities in your area to Nelson González, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

## Miami man tells forum how he beat frame-up

By Jane Roland

MIAMI—"I worked real hard today. But I'm not tired. I'm glad to come here to speak my feelings," Lonnie Bradley told the *Militant Forum* on April 1.

Bradley, twenty-five, was one of nine Black youths put on trial for the May 1980 rebellion. That outburst by the Black community here was sparked when four white cops were acquitted of the brutal murder of Arthur McDufie, a Black man.

Although fourteen Blacks were killed during the rebellion, the only indictments have been against Blacks charged with murdering whites during the initial outbreak.

Bradley was released March 11 and told his story to the forum. He explained that he was going to visit a friend but stopped to investigate a loud commotion around the corner.

There he saw two people lying in the street surrounded by a crowd. "I tried to talk people out of hurting them," he explained. "I said, 'There's little kids here, twelve, thirteen years old. Don't let them see this. Don't let them think it's cool to hurt people.'"

Two weeks later he was picked up by the police and put in jail. He was thrown naked into an isolation cell and spent seven days in the hole. "They treated me like a dog," he said, describing the ordeal.

Bradley was released when

the testimony of the only witness against him was thrown out of court on the basis that she is legally blind.

Moreover, the police had never read Bradley his rights, as is demanded by the Constitution.

"I was held on three counts of attempted murder, and I never saw more than two people. But besides, I tried to save their lives."

Although Bradley is free, others are not. Four have been convicted and face long prison terms or the electric chair. Florida is one of three states that has carried out executions in the last four years.

Bradley urged support for the convicted youths. He had met some of them in jail and is convinced of their innocence. "There's pressure on these people to plead guilty and try for a reduced sentence. But don't plead guilty. If you're innocent—fight."

"I'm glad I'm free, but I'm not happy. Because I know these others are innocent. And I'd go to jail for protesting, or I'd get beat up by the police for protesting."

"But I'll fight because if they can railroad people like us, well, I don't want to live in a world like that."

"And so no one will have to ask me to come to more meetings. From now on, I'll come on my own."



Annie Ruth Bradley and son, Lonnie

## Cop freed in slaying

By Sue Adley

BOULDER, Colo.—Disgusted and angry, Pat Cordova stormed out of a county courtroom after hearing a jury acquit the slayer of her brother, Jeffrey, twenty-one years old. The decision was read March 27.

Patrolman Glenn Herner shot Cordova and another youth on August 14, 1980. He had stopped their car because he objected to a remark made by another passenger. The wounds were fatal. Neither victim was armed.

The episode revealed the scandalous treatment of Chicanos, especially Chicano youth, by Longmont authorities. A few weeks before the August incident, Francisco García had suggested that the federal government should investigate cop harassment of the Chicano community. His brother Juan was Herner's other victim.

The Longmont mayor and city manager refused to meet with the Cordova and García families in the hours after the shooting. They never officially expressed regret or sympathy.

Some hospital personnel and relatives have charged that Jeff Cordova wasn't given proper care for his injuries. Ironically, Herner's defense played on the physician's inaction to exonerate the cop.

The Boulder County district attorney was far from vigorous in his prosecution of the case. After a grand jury investigation, he decided to charge Herner with felony manslaughter. Maximum sentence, had Herner been convicted, would have been only two to four years' imprisonment. John Davis, Herner's partner at the scene, was not charged with anything.

From the shooting until the trial, Herner was suspended with pay. Now the Longmont officials are considering whether to put him back on the police force. The city is also paying his legal fees.

Federal officials have told the *Rocky Mountain News* that they will look into the case on grounds of possible civil rights violations.

## Prof. proves sex discrimination caused Harvard tenure rejection

A Harvard University grievance committee concluded on April 8 that an associate professor of sociology was denied tenure last fall as a result of sex discrimination. University officials have announced that they would grant a tenure hearing to Professor Theda R. Skocpol.

Tenure means a virtually lifelong appointment as a full faculty member.

The university's 1980 affirmative-action report lists only 26 women among the university's 831 tenured professors.

But the step forward in the Skocpol case doesn't mean that the attacks on the gains of Blacks, Latinos, and women is letting up at Harvard.

Last fall, an aide to Harvard President Derek Bok released a preliminary report alleging that entrance test scores overpredicted the academic performance of Black and women students. The final draft of the report is expected to be released soon.

In protesting the study, women and minority students issued



PROF. THEDA SKOCPOL

demands including an increase in admissions of women, Blacks, and Latinos, and the seating of women and minorities on all university admission and selection committees.

A struggle has also begun over places on the editorial staff of the elite *Harvard Law Review*. Out of eighty-nine members of the present staff, eleven are women and one is Asian-American. There are no Blacks or Latinos. This hardly reflects the school's composition, which is 28 percent women and 14 percent oppressed minorities.

The Harvard Black Law Students Association and the campus Third World Coalition called for a general opening up of access to the editorial board and for quotas for women and minority students. A resolution to that effect passed the *Review* staff in February, but was later scrapped. The rejection of the demand for quotas is still subject to faculty approval.

## Ky. rally honors King, hears Atlantans demand end to killings

By Bob Hill

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Sheila and Russell Balthazer, the parents of Patrick Balthazer, one of the slain children in Atlanta, were the featured guests at a commemorative rally at the Southern Star Baptist church here. The rally was in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King on the anniversary of his assassination. The Balthazers expressed their gratitude to the audience of some 100 people for showing concern about the Atlanta killings.

Herman Dozier, a field organizer for the Kentucky Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which sponsored the event, questioned the dual standard of justice in this country. "Why can't they find the killer or killers? If a policeman is shot, twenty-four hours later they

would have someone. If the president is shot, twenty-four seconds later they have someone."

The high point of the rally was the presentation by Elijah Brooks, representative of the Social Action Committee of the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761 at the huge General Electric plant just outside of Louisville.

Brooks stated, "Martin Luther King inspired the unions. He gave his life for the sanitation workers in Memphis. The international union supports the proposal in Congress to make Dr. King's birthday a national holiday."

He continued, "We in IUE 761 have passed around a petition [supporting the King holiday demand] at the Appliance Park plant. We have gathered over 3,000 signatures so far." The au-

dience applauded as Brooks held up for view a ream of signed petitions.

"We have strength in numbers and strength in unity," he said.

Other speakers at the rally included Rev. Charles Kirby, president of the Kentucky SCLC; Shirley Smith of the Louisville Anti-Klan Coalition; Stuart Granger of the University of Louisville NAACP; and Sister Sarah Concannon of the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

Earlier in the day, about fifty people participated in a march and rally at the Super-X drugstore where Emmanuel Ballard, a retired Black man, was shot and killed by an off-duty cop for allegedly stealing a bottle of aspirin.

## Black party youth meet declares solidarity with Atlanta children

By Melvin Chappell

BROOKLYN—The Student Youth Caucus of the National Black Independent Political Party sponsored a Northeast regional organizing conference March 27-29 at Medgar Evers College here. More than 100 people participated.

The theme of the conference was "Black Students and Youth United to Meet the Challenge of the '80s; Build the National Black Independent Political Party." It was also dedicated to the murdered youth of Atlanta. All the participants wore green ribbons to express their solidarity.

The conference sought to map out a program on youth to be presented to the NBIPP national congress in August. Party organizers who had not seen each other since the founding conference in Philadelphia last November exchanged ideas and experiences.

Nearly half the participants were students and other youth. Some were members of the youth division of the Black United Front or the Black American Law Student Association.

Some were not members of the party but had come to learn about it. This was facilitated by workshops on important issues like the draft, youth unemployment, and fighting Klan terror.

Somori Marxman, a representative in the United States of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada, led a workshop on the world situation.

One panel was composed of leaders of the NBIPP in the Northeast. Muntu Masimela, the New York state co-convenor of NBIPP, spoke of the contribution made by students in the civil rights movement. "Students have played a major role in the liberation movement around

the world," he said, citing the example of Cuba, "where students left the college campus and went to the Sierra Maestra to fight for freedom with Fidel Castro's forces in the 1950s."

Beryl Bailey, a member of the National Party Organizing Committee, also spoke on the panel. "Although some of us have realized that we need our independence from the Republican and Democratic parties, there are many who believe in these two parties. Therefore, it will be the job of the independent party to make aware the necessity of an independent Black party."

As part of the meeting's stress on support to Atlanta Blacks, it heard two members of the Techwood Homes Community Patrol. They were Israel Green, president of the Techwood-Clark Housing Project Tenants Association, and Chimurenga Jenga.

# WHAT WE BELIEVE

## Farrell Dobbs's testimony at trial of Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against U.S. government police operations

### Part II—Cross-examination

On the following pages is a slightly edited and abridged version of the April 2-3 cross-examination of Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at the trial of the U.S. government.

Conducting the cross-examination was Edward G. Williams, an assistant U.S. attorney, who heads the government defense at the trial. Margaret Winter is chief counsel for the plaintiffs, the socialists.

The testimony is taken from the official court transcript.

#### CROSS EXAMINATION

Williams: Mr. Dobbs, have you ever been known by any other name? Other than Farrell Dobbs?

Dobbs: Yes.

Q: And what name or names have you gone by?

A: There were two. One was Smith and the other was Barr.

Q: In what context did you use the name Smith?

A: The name Smith was used in the context of participation in political correspondence concerning the Fourth International. The reason for it was that there were people involved who would have been in physical danger in their own countries had it been known that they were participants in such affairs. As a protection to them, everybody present used a name other than their own. So that if someone used a name other than his own and others did not, it would not stand out.

Q: Did you use the name Smith in correspondence with the Fourth International?

A: Yes, I believe so.

Q: Were other members present during that correspondence?

A: That becomes a standing practice if you are going to proceed that way. You correspond in that manner, as well as at meetings, so there is a consistency in it. That was the purpose.

Q: Did you yourself have a purpose in keeping your name, your real name secret in your correspondence with the Fourth International?

A: No, not personally.

\* \* \*

Q: Did individuals within the Socialist Workers Party address you with the code name Smith?

A: In some of the gatherings in the Socialist Workers Party I used the name Barr. The reason in that case being that in the conditions of the witch-hunting prevailing, there were people that participated in those meetings who, if they had been identified as participants in a gathering of the Socialist Workers Party, would have been in danger of discharge from their jobs. Here again, the practice was to use a pseudonym in order to give protection against victimization of people under those circumstances.

Q: And during what time period were you referring to when you referred to the witch-hunt period?

A: The witch-hunt period for us began back in 1938-39, and it is still going on.

\* \* \*

Q: Sir, do you consider yourself a Marxist?

A: Yes, I do.

Q: In what way do you consider yourself a Marxist?

A: In the sense that I agree with the basic concepts of the Marxist theory and program and historic objectives.

Q: Does that include agreement with the basic tenets of the Communist Manifesto of 1848?

A: The basic tenets of the Communist Manifesto in the sense that they project the fundamental analysis of the nature of the capitalistic system and the need for its displacement by a socialist society.

Q: Sir, do you also consider yourself a Leninist?

A: I do, yes.

Q: In what sense do you consider yourself a Leninist?

A: In the sense that I concur in the efforts made by Lenin to apply the basic concepts of Marxism in the concrete circumstances existing during his time.

#### Trotsky vs. Stalin

Q: Do you consider yourself a Trotskyist?

A: I do.

Q: In what sense?

A: The same sense, concurring in the basic concepts that he sought to advance in the light of conditions in his time.

Q: What are, briefly, the tenets of Trotsky that you concur in today?

A: The central thing I concur in is the line of thinking that Trotsky developed to analyze the social character of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and the character that was engrafted on the Communist Parties elsewhere in the world as a result of that development. . . .

Q: Did the system advocated by Trotsky differ from the system advocated by Stalin?

A: Yes. Trotsky was a complete opponent of Stalinism.

Q: In response to a question this morning by Ms. Winter, you drew a distinction between Stalinism and Trotskyism in connection with their views on the evolution of socialism in the world. . . . Is it not true then that the Trotskyist view is a more global and international view of the substitution of socialism for capitalism whereas the Stalinist view was centered in the Soviet Union?

A: Yes, that is absolutely true. The Trotskyist view is a world view. The Stalinist view is a view . . . of cogitating the Soviet navel, and imagining

that they are looking at the world. The difference is profound.

Q: The Socialist Workers Party subscribes to this more global view—

A: The world view, that is correct.

Q: There should be the substitution of capitalism or the bourgeoisie government throughout the world in a coordinated effort?

A: The question of government is incidental to the primary question. The fundamental basis of the view is that for humanity to rise to a higher stage in the social organization of production, it is necessary to abolish the capitalist property relations of private property in the social means of production. Make them a collectively owned enterprise by the population as a whole, and develop a parallel line of coordination on a world scale between the people of all the countries in an increasingly ascending level of many-sided economic cooperation. It is a concept of a very sweeping reorganization of the whole fundamental basis of the productive process thought of in terms of what is the fundamental meaning—to wrest from the natural sources of the earth that which will make for better lives of human beings.

Q: Is cooperation between the various national bodies in the world important as well as coordination, as you just stated a minute ago?

A: The two are combined. They would be intertwined.

Q: Sir, you studied the writings of Marx, have you not?

A: Yes, I have.

Q: And Engels?

A: Yes.

Q: And Lenin?

A: Yes. I should say that I have not read every word every one of them wrote, but I spent considerable time studying them, yes.

Q: And of course Trotsky?

A: Yes.

Q: Have you in the course of your readings studied the history of the various Internationals, the first four Internationals?

A: Yes, I have.

#### First International

Q: Could you briefly, very briefly, explain to us the formation of the First International?

A: Yes.

The First International was formed in the early part of the 1860s under the principal leadership of Marx and Engels. It consisted of groupings, small groupings of individuals, socialist theorists in various countries, principally and primarily in Western European countries who came together in this. The International Workingmen's Association was the formal name.

It is known in history and in ordinary references as the First International.

The purpose was to promote the cooperation of the working-class political movements in the various countries, to help raise the perspectives of

the workers in each individual country to wider international horizons so that they would think of working-class problems in international terms rather than in narrow national terms and in that way to promote the organization of the working class.

At that stage in Europe the problem of the organization of the working class remained a large problem of elementary trade union organization, as well as of the political organization of the working class into its own parties, independent from the capitalist class. It was to promote that line of development and within that framework to debate, discuss, and hopefully arrive ultimately at an agreement on a program that would conform to the basic historic objectives that the Marxist program sets forth for the working class.

Q: And, to use your word, how was this "cooperation" achieved between the various groupings?

A: Through a combination of collective political discussion and through cooperation, in whatever forms were possible, concerning struggles that the workers were carrying on.

For example, if a group of workers in one country were on strike, the First International did what it could to help convince workers in other countries that they should not let themselves become involved in anything concerning their employment that would constitute a strike-breaking act against the workers in the other country.

Judge Griesa: We don't need to get this precise. We can get some background, but let's not get—

Williams: My objective is simply to elicit three points on each International, and if Mr. Dobbs would keep it brief—

Griesa: It isn't a matter of his response. Your questions are very general and you've got to point them without asking for very general discussions of the First International, etc.

Williams: Mr. Dobbs, if you would just answer this final question on the First International, would you tell me the year and the circumstances of the demise of the First International?

Dobbs: I think it would have been about 1875, possibly 1876. The circumstances—

Q: Do you know the event that caused its demise?

A: It was in the aftermath of the Paris Commune. After the Paris Commune of 1871 a grouping of anarchists, led by a man by the name of Bakunin, who were part of the International, embarked upon a terrorist campaign. I think it was at the 1874 Congress of the First International they were expelled from the International, and the International publicly disassociated itself from the statements and actions of the anarchists.

Then . . . the center of the International was transferred to New York because the Bakuninists were going through all kinds of maneuvers to try

*Continued on next page*

**Continued from preceding page**  
to capture it through organizational mechanisms.

Q: That's fine. Thank you.  
A: All right.

## Second International

Q: Now the Second International. . . . Can you pinpoint the date that it was formed?

A: Right at the end of the 1880s.

Q: And how long did the Second International last?

A: It still exists.

Q: And in what form?

A: In a very depleted form in comparison to what it was in its first years back in the 19th century. But it is still considered the Second International. I think its formal name is and has always been the Labor and Socialist International.

Q: And did the Second International also seek to achieve cooperation between the working groups in various countries?

A: Yes. Here again I don't want to elaborate, or I don't want to get off on a tangent, but I think I can best answer your question by just pointing out briefly in this respect the difference between the character and substance of the Second International and the First International. May I do that?

Williams: Your Honor?

Judge Griesa: Sure.

Dobbs: As I said, the First International consisted only of small groupings of socialist-minded workers in various countries who were trying to act unitedly to promote the international organization of the working class at the trade union and political level.

In the case of the Second International, already the trade unions in Europe, in England, France, and so on had advanced to a point that there were massive workers' trade union organizations. There had been a considerable development of working-class political parties. Some were socialist parties. Some were labor parties that had been founded by the trade unions and acted independently as against the parties of the capitalist class.

And the Second International was the coalescing and international collaboration of what had become a very substantial movement in the countries that were involved in the organization.

## Third International

Q: Now, Mr. Dobbs, do you recall reading about the formation of or having knowledge of the Third International?

A: Yes. The Third International was formed in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. I think it was the following Congress held in the spring of 1919,

and it consisted of organizations in various countries in the world, including the Soviet Union.

And they came together on the basis of their common agreement with the accomplishments of the Russian revolution of 1917 and the perspective of trying to move from capitalism to the beginning of the building of a socialist society in other countries.

Q: Is it not true that one of the purposes of the Third International was to attempt to restore the fundamental concepts of the First International?

A: Yes. But again without meaning to deviate—

Q: Briefly.

A: —I would have to call your attention to something that had happened in the Second International that required its restoration.

Q: If you could do so briefly.

A: Yes, I will try to. In the Second International a body of thought developed—and became a programmatic concept for an increasingly large right-wing section of the Second International—that capitalism could be abolished and a socialist society built by gradually reforming the capitalist system. Whereas the fundamental Marxist concept is that the capitalist system has to be totally dismantled, and the social system reconstructed on a socialist basis.

This policy developed by the right-wingers in the Second International led them into an increasingly close political collaboration with the liberal bourgeois parties, particularly in Europe. And the upshot was that the respective parties had become so honeycombed with the concept of bourgeois nationalism . . . that they completely forgot they were socialists interested in defending the interests of the working class of the world, and supported their respective capitalist classes in the First World War.

And it was to correct this and get back to the Marxist concepts that the Third International was formed.

Q: And is it not true—

Judge Griesa: To get back to what?

Dobbs: To the Marxist concept that had been set forth in the First International, your Honor.

Griesa: Well, specifically, that would be what?

A: Specifically this: that it was not possible to establish a socialist society by reforming capitalism; that it is necessary for the whole capitalist structure to be dismantled and for society to be reconstructed from the economic base to the political superstructure on socialist lines.

Williams: In other words, Mr. Dobbs, am I correct that the

thought of the Third International was not that you could change the existing society but you had to replace it; is that correct?

A: No, no, no.

Griesa: He said what he said. Why don't you let his answer go. He said it in his words.

Williams: Was the impetus of the Third International the Russian Revolution of 1917?

A: Oh, yes.

Q: And did there come a time when Stalin became a major force in the Third International?

A: There did.

Q: And during what time period was that?

A: Well, it became most pronounced in its inchoate stage early in the 1920s and began to develop very rapidly after the death of Lenin early in 1924. By the year 1928 Stalin not only was in complete command in the Soviet Union, but the Stalinists were completely in control of the Communist International.

Q: Now, in your view, does the Third International exist still today, as does the Second International?

A: No. The Third International was officially disowned by the Stalinists during the Second World War. I think about 1943, if memory serves me right. Sometime around that time.

\* \* \*

Q: Was it also a purpose of the Third International, as it was with the First and the Second, to try to achieve an amount of cooperation and coordination between the International bodies, the working-class bodies?

A: Yes. That's true.

## Fourth International

Q: What gave rise to the formation of the Fourth International? Are you familiar with that?

A: Yes. What gave rise to it was the Stalinist degeneration of the Third International.

Q: And what time did this take place, the formation of the Fourth International?

A: The work toward what became the formation of the Fourth International began immediately after the split in 1928. I mentioned in my earlier testimony that those who supported Trotsky's views were expelled from the Communist Party in this country in 1928. But that split went all up and down the International and took its final, most decisive form at a Congress of the International that was held in 1928.

Q: And where was that Congress held?

A: I think in Moscow. I won't take an oath on that, but I think it was in Moscow.

\* \* \*

Q: Now, Mr. Dobbs, can I direct your attention to the First Congress, or the initial meeting of the Fourth International? Are you familiar with that?

A: That took place, I think, the summer of 1938.

Q: And where did that take place?

A: Somewhere in Europe. I don't remember where.

Q: You did not attend?

A: No, no. I was up to my ears in that over-the-road organization at that time.

Q: Did any individuals from the United States, to your knowledge, participate in that founding Congress in 1938?

A: I think so. But I have no positive knowledge because, as I say, I was intently engaged in trade union activity and was not able to keep very close track of such developments.

Q: Would it refresh your recollection if I said that Joe Cannon participated in the founding of the Fourth International?

A: You mean Jim Cannon?

Q: Jim Cannon. I'm sorry.

A: Probably. He was the executive

secretary of the Party. He probably did.

\* \* \*

Q: Do you know what it was that led to the expulsion of the left wing of the Socialist Party, which eventually led to the formation of the Socialist Workers Party?

A: Yes. The distilled essence of the political dispute was this: that the left wing of the Party adhered to revolutionary concepts, that it is necessary for the working class to organize to abolish the capitalist system and reorganize society on a socialist basis.

The right wing of the party adhered to what in the socialist movement are called reformist concepts, that is, the concepts that the ultimate objectives could be attained after a long, long time by gradually reforming capitalism.

And it was a dispute over these basically different fundamental outlooks—which had its reflection in all kinds of other questions, including whether or not there should be any kind of support to a capitalist political candidate in election campaigns, and so on—that led to a political dispute in the Party. The reformist wing had a majority, so they expelled the revolutionary wing.

Q: So is it not true then that the immediate predecessors to the formation of the Socialist Workers Party was not the reformist group but was the left-wing group?

A: Exactly.

\* \* \*

## Class Struggle

Q: This morning, Mr. Dobbs, you talked about the class struggle that takes place within the working class and the capitalist system.

Could you explain to the Court and to us what is the nature of this class struggle in the Leninist sense?

A: In the Leninist sense, as in the Marxist sense—and the two are synonymous—the class struggle has at its roots the contest between the workers on the one side and the capitalists on the other over the division of the social wealth created by the processes of production.

Q: And is this class struggle reflected at the national level in the United States?

A: Oh, yes.

Q: And is it also reflected at the international level?

A: The class struggle is worldwide in its scope.

Q: Is it the Trotskyist view that this class struggle in the international sense should go forward together?

A: It is the Trotskyist view that that international class struggle is going to go forward whether we want it or not. That is the most honest answer I can give you to that question. We have no control over it. We simply try to understand it and adopt an outlook as to how the workers can attain the goals that they are struggling for.

Q: And does this class struggle entail the building, at the national level, of revolutionary parties?

A: Yes.

\* \* \*

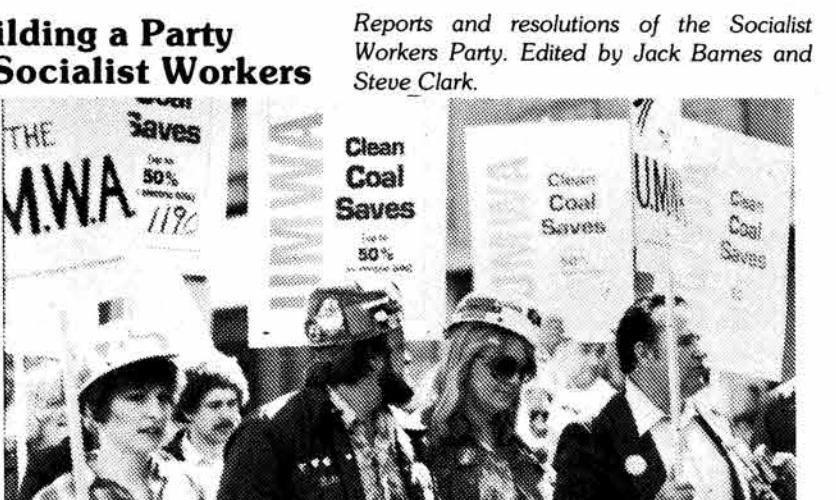
Q: Do you, as a Leninist-Marxist-Trotskyist, which I think you identified yourself as earlier today, consider it important or part of your responsibility to build revolutionary workers groups throughout the world?

A: I consider it important that the workers in every country have a revolutionary party and that the maximum possible political collaboration be established between those parties.

Q: And is part of that collaboration or cooperation achieved by, for example, the Fourth International?

A: That is the object of an organization of that nature.

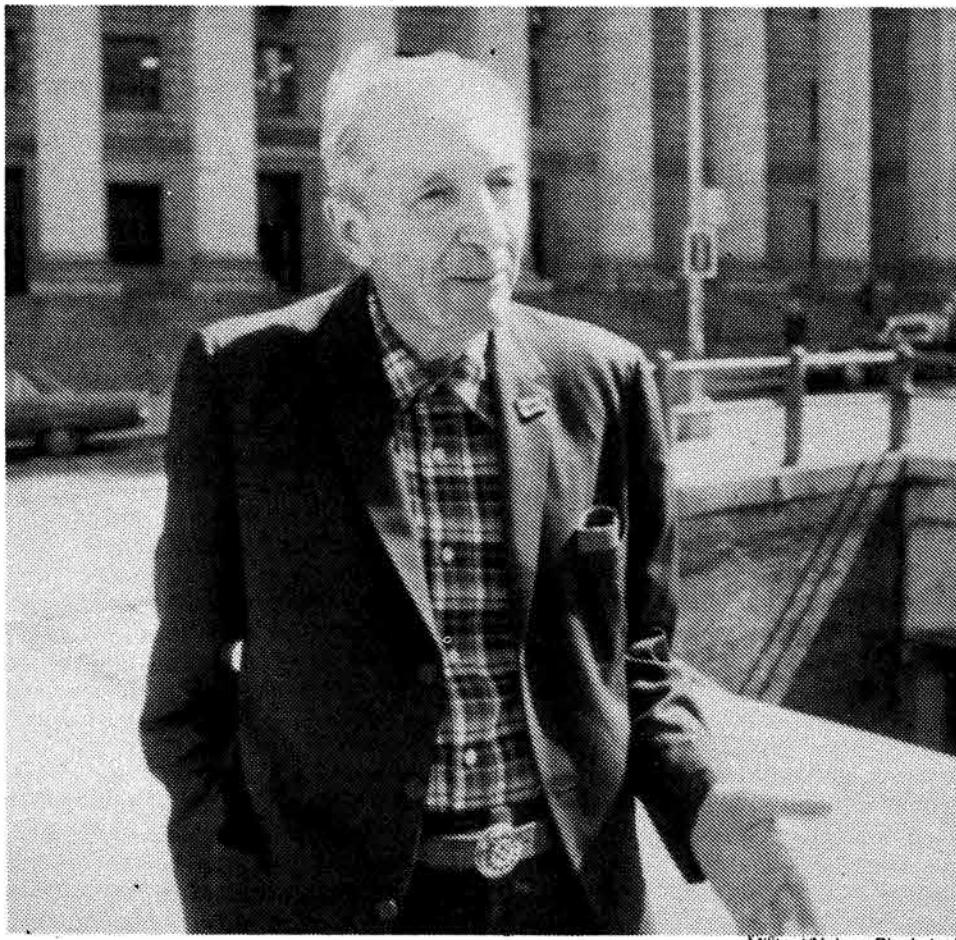
Q: And is that the object of the Fourth International?



How is the U.S. labor movement changing today? How can working people organize to defend their living standards and democratic rights? How can the Black and women's movements defend past gains and advance their fight for full equality? What kind of government does the working class need to promote its interests? What kind of party is needed to fight for such a government?

Reports and resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party. Edited by Jack Barnes and Steve Clark.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Farrell Dobbs outside federal courthouse in New York City

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

A: I think so, yes.

Q: Do you, as a member and as a former leader of the Socialist Workers Party, see yourself as a participant in this class struggle?

A: Not an active one. What do the Mexicans call it? I am an *aficionado*, I guess I would have to say.

Q: Did you, at the time you were active—

A: When I was active, yes, I considered myself a participant.

Q: And do you advocate, as a member of the Socialist Workers Party, the abolition of private property?

A: In the means of production.

Q: And the replacement of the capitalist society with socialism?

A: That's correct.

Q: Now, Mr. Dobbs, I have a book of selected writings of Lenin.

Williams: Your Honor, may I hand this to the witness? I don't intend to mark it as an exhibit but I am simply going to refer to passages, pages.

Judge Griesa: Okay.

Q: Perhaps I should just identify for the record.

As I say, I don't want to have it marked as an exhibit necessarily, but it is Lenin's *Selected Works*, Volume I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970.

Could you turn to page 39, Mr. Dobbs, please.

A: Yes.

Q: Do you see the bold letters, 'The Class Struggle' on page 39?

A: Yes.

Q: I am going to read a portion of that right underneath that heading. It states:

'It is the common knowledge that in any given society the strivings of some of its members conflict with the strivings of others.'

Do you see that?

A: Yes, I do.

Q: Down below, around eight lines, it starts a new sentence:

'Now the conflicting strivings stem from the difference in the position and the mode of life of the classes into which each society is divided.'

Is that consistent with your understanding of the class struggle?

Judge Griesa: If we are going to get into a lot of basic—

Williams: I am trying to understand Mr. Dobbs' view of the class struggle and whether it is consistent with Lenin's writings.

Griesa: He has said over and over—he used the words "class struggle." I don't see any reason in reading him a lot of things that are consistent with what he said.

Williams: I will try it another way.

Griesa: Try what another way?

Williams: I will ask Mr. Dobbs questions about these writings without

reading into the record the actual language.

Q: Let me ask you this question, Mr. Dobbs: Do you generally agree with the writings of Lenin?

Griesa: We are not going to get anywhere this way.

He has stated that he believes in the concept of revolution. I don't need to repeat what he has stated.

He has, however, defined it as embodying a movement by a majority of people and he has said that it does—at least his notion of the proper form of revolution—does not involve individual acts of terrorism.

He has stated that conflict. And he either said, or it is implied, that armed conflict comes when the capitalists attempt to thwart the [wishes] of the majority.

If you have anything that goes beyond that sort of basic doctrine and defines revolution in another way or shows that the Trotskyist movement goes to armed revolution in some way other than he has described, that would be worth cross-examining about.

Williams: I have a quote right now in which Lenin states that 'Socialists cannot without ceasing to be socialists be opposed to all war.'

I would like to ask Mr. Dobbs whether he agrees with that or disagrees with that.

A: Would you read that again, please?

Q: The quote, and this is Lenin, states: 'Socialists cannot, without ceasing to be socialists, be opposed to all war.'

### Revolution by majority

Judge Griesa: That does not add anything. I can think of a few questions. For instance, that Lenin did not represent to my knowledge the majority of the Russian people at the time of the seizure of the power in 1917. All of these general pronouncements can be interpreted in any one of fifteen ways. General pronouncements don't help very much of that kind.

Did Lenin espouse the idea of a revolution only when there is the support of the majority of the people?

Dobbs: That is correct, sir.

Griesa: How do you explain the takeover of the Bolsheviks in 1917?

A: It was a majority action, your Honor.

Griesa: You interpret it as a majority action?

A: My interpretation, yes.

Griesa: Are there any statistics showing that they gathered the majority?

A: Yes. The statistics—I don't have

them at my fingers, but I can give you what symbolizes it. It was the organization of the Soviets, which were bodies that sprang up spontaneously in the February, 1905, revolution. They were spontaneous organizations in which all people who performed useful labor were taken in. These were the bodies upon which the first provisional government—that evolved into the Kerensky government somewhat later—was founded. And it governed on the basis of these bodies which represented the population.

Griesa: Correct me when I am wrong, but is it correct when you state that revolution consists of a movement of the majority of people, are you willing to say that you regard the Bolshevik takeover in Russia in 1917 as a manifestation of what you are talking about?

A: Yes, I think it was a majority action.

Griesa: If we wanted to look to a historical example of what you are talking about, we could look to the Bolshevik takeover in 1917. Is that right?

A: That would be true.

Griesa: If that same thing happened in the United States today, it again would be your definition of what you have spoken about today, right?

A: Yes.

Griesa: I guess we better go back and read what happened.

\* \* \*

Q: Mr. Dobbs, at the first Convention of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938 there was adopted a draft resolution of principles, was there not?

A: Yes, I believe there was.

Q: Do you recall the declaration of principles? I would like to hand you what has been identified as Government's Exhibit A and ask you if you could identify that.

A: It seems to be.

\* \* \*

Griesa: It doesn't say anything different from what he has said.

Williams: Yes, your Honor. There may be other passages we will refer to later with other exhibits, and we would like—

Griesa: When the time comes, then you can have it in. But let's not get—

Williams: This is one of the fundamental, basic documents of this whole lawsuit.

Griesa: I am not here as a historian. I don't need it.

Williams: I understand.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, I hand you what has been marked as Government's Exhibit B for identification, which is a printed document, and it is Declarations of Principles and Constitution of the Socialist Workers Party.

A: Yes.

Q: Is this the document that was adopted at the convention in 1938, the final approved version?

A: That would appear to be.

Williams: Your Honor, I would offer this as an exhibit.

Griesa: Is this just a final version?

Williams: This is the final version of the draft.

Griesa: Look, let's start minimizing the paper work.

Williams: Your Honor, this is our first exhibit.

Griesa: But it probably isn't your last.

Williams: Your Honor, may I approach the bench with counsel?

Griesa: We don't need to approach the bench. There is no jury here.

I think I want to make myself clear, and I hope I did before the recess.

This witness gave, as I think I said, as we all heard, a definition of "revolution" which he says was the SWP's and the Trotskyists' definition of "revolution." And we heard the testimony and I think I summarized it before the recess. And so we don't need to say it so many times.

But if, on cross examination, you can bring out something which is directed

to his precise definition and which impeaches his testimony on that or rebuts it in ways that are important to the case, okay, that is useful cross. But simply to bring out documents using the word "revolution" adds literally nothing.

He didn't deny the word "revolution". He defined it in his own way.

Have you got a document which defines "revolution" in the Trotskyist sense differently from the way he defined it?

Williams: Yes, your Honor.

Griesa: Okay. Then let's get right down to business and use that.

Williams: We have that document, which will be introduced with regard to another individual, not Mr. Dobbs.

Griesa: Then what is the point of cross-examining him?

Williams: I have another document, your Honor, which I would like to introduce with Mr. Dobbs.

Griesa: All right. Let's go.

Q: Let me ask you one question, though, with regard to this Declaration of Principles.

To your knowledge, did that have circulation outside the Socialist Workers Party? Was that available for sale and purchase by individuals?

A: I don't remember precisely, but I wouldn't be surprised if it were, as a matter of fact.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, I hand you what has been premarked as Government's Exhibit M for identification. For the record, it is education for—

Griesa: For some reason [you] have started referring to Government?

Williams: Defendant, Defendants' Exhibit M for identification.

Griesa: M as in Mary?

Williams: Yes, your Honor.

### 'Combat party'

Q: The article is entitled 'The Structure and Organizational Principles of the Party,' by Mr. Dobbs, dated June 1971. Mr. Dobbs, have you seen that document before?

A: Yes, I have.

Q: And did you author that document?

A: Yes. These are lectures that I gave on this subject.

Q: A series of lectures, was it not, three lectures?

A: That's correct.

Q: And they were given by you in August of 1970?

A: Yes.

Q: In Oberlin, Ohio?

A: That would be correct.

Q: Would you turn to page 19, sir, of that document? Do you see the first full sentence starting on the second column: 'The transitional demands as a whole meld into a program leading toward one conclusion, the conquest of power by the working class and its allies.'

Do you see that?

A: Yes.

Q: And then the first sentence of the next full paragraph:

'All this will be possible provided there is a combat party capable of giving revolutionary leadership, and to fulfill that role the Party must be politically cohesive and organizationally disciplined.'

A: Yes.

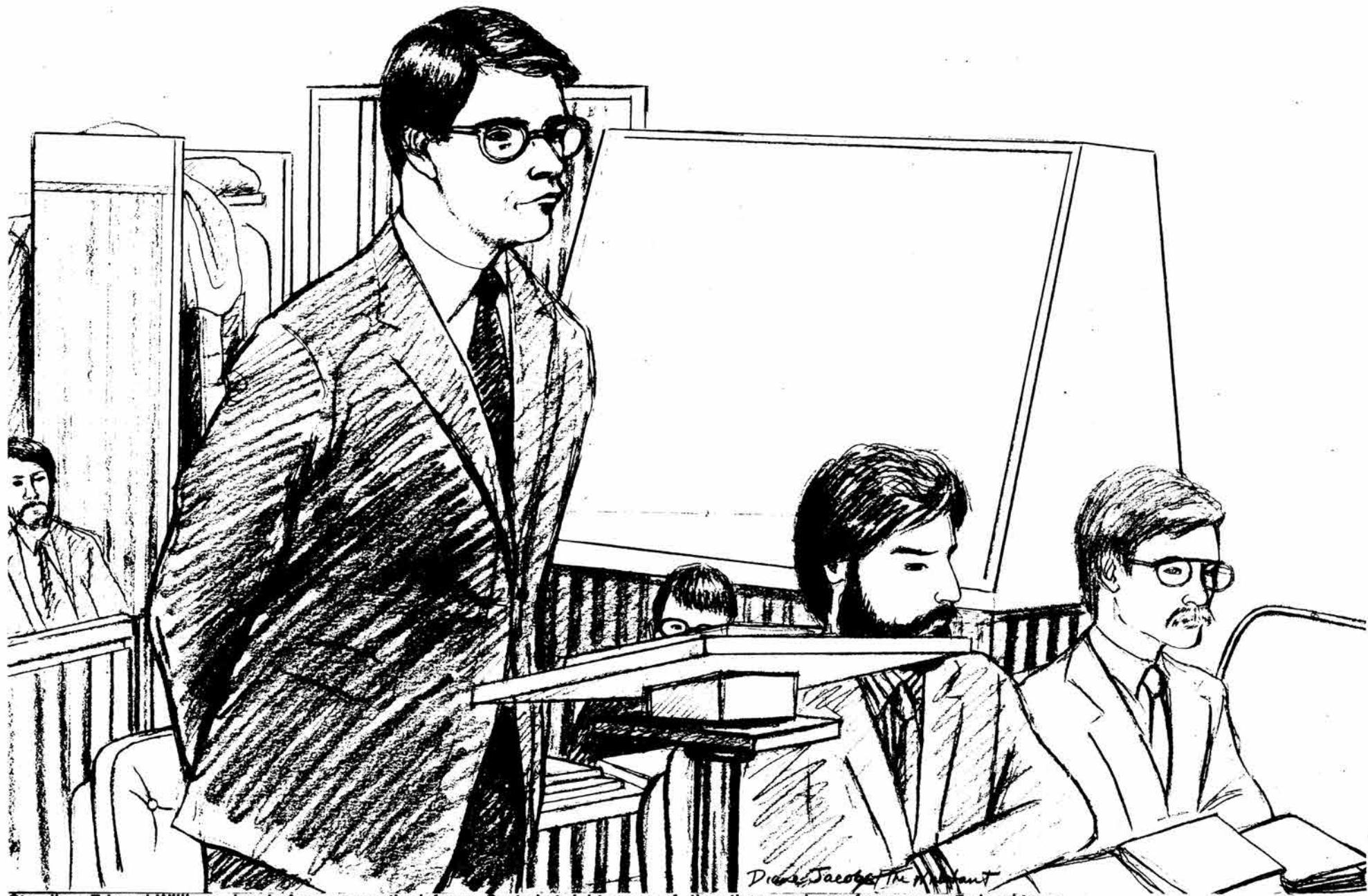
Q: And did you write those words, or did you state those words?

A: I would have stated those words, yes.

Q: What did you mean by 'combat party' when you stated that?

A: A party that acts as a solid unit. It is a concept that stems from the organizational principles of the party that are called democratic centralism, which is what this whole series of lectures was about—that is, once a position has been arrived at by a majority, then everybody acts to carry out the decision of the majority. Those who do not agree with the decision do not go off on their own. A party that

*Continued on next page*



Standing, Edward Williams, head of government's defense. Seated at right, some of the other members of government's legal team.

**Continued from preceding page**

acts as a unit and not as a party that goes off in a dozen ways after a course has been decided upon—that's what the term "combat party" means.

And it has reference to an alternate concept of organization that has been traditional in the revisionist social democratic parties: that each and every grouping within the party acts as it pleases and the party has no particular central focus of activity.

It has no bearing on the concept of military combat, if that is what you think.

Griesa: I would just suggest that when you are cross-examining, if a witness has taken a position, don't have a prearranged script that you follow on cross. Tailor your cross to the precise testimony. And I would do that overnight, and we can save a little bit of time.

[Adjourned to Friday, April 3, 1981 at 10 a.m.]

\* \* \*

Williams: Mr. Dobbs, does the Socialist Workers Party openly advocate a revolutionary change in the government of the United States?

A: Yes. You mean in the form of

government, I assume is what you mean.

Q: Yes.

A: Yes.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, do you recall giving a speech as a tribute to James Cannon in San Francisco sometime in 1974, following the death of Mr. Cannon?

A: Yes, I recall that I gave a talk.

Q: And is this the same James Cannon who was expelled from the Socialist Party toward the end of 1937?

A: That's right.

Q: —because he and his followers advocated a revolutionary change, that is, the abolition of the capitalist system as opposed to the reformist concepts that were advocated by the right-wing faction?

A: That would be true.

Q: And this is the same Mr. Cannon who later became one of the founders of the Socialist Workers Party?

A: That's true.

Judge Griesa: You don't have to repeat all that. I've heard of Mr. Cannon and I know it is probably the same one.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, were there a number of people present during

that speech in San Francisco?

A: Yes.

Q: It was a public, open gathering, was it not?

A: It was a public gathering.

Q: And did you not at that speech, during that speech, say that the Socialist Workers Party was a thoroughgoing internationalist party, that the party was international in its outlook?

A: Yes, I would have said that. It is accurate in any case.

Q: And it was internationalist in the sense that the Socialist Workers Party also realizes that one of the prime criteria of internationalism is to build a revolutionary combat party?

A: That doesn't sound like the way I would have phrased it. But, if I get the gist of what you're saying, it is probably a formulation that I could conceivably have used. Thinking of it now, I don't quite remember such phraseology.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, do you know if subsequent to that speech your speech was printed in a copy of the 'Militant'?

A: Yes, I believe it was.

Q: Mr. Dobbs, I hand you what has been marked as Defendants'

Exhibit C for identification, an article from the 'Militant' dated October 11, 1974, which was marked during your deposition; and I ask you to turn to page 16.

A: Yes, I have it.

Q: Do you see where it says: 'The Socialist Workers Party is a thoroughgoing internationalist party' and so forth?

A: You left out the last sentence, "in your own country." I said "... build a revolutionary combat party in your own country." That's why I wasn't quite sure that it was accurate.

I would have said that, yes.

\* \* \*

Q: And do you see where it says, about six lines down, 'The Socialist Workers Party, under Jim's central leadership, played a key role in backing Trotsky in his work of building the Fourth International'?

A: Yes.

Q: And you said that?

A: Yes, I would have said that.

Q: And that is true, is it not?

A: That is true.

(To be continued)

## ...rail

**Continued from page 3**

hood of Electrical Workers, Sleeping Car Porters, Sheet Metal Workers, Transport Workers Union, American Railway Supervisors Association and BRAC.

Most workers came from the several large rail terminals in New York City and Amtrak's repair facility in Sunnyside, Queens.

Al Archual, BRAC general chairman on the East Coast, told the gathering that New York was the fifth meeting BRAC had organized across the country to push for participation on April 29.

"Something has to be done," Archual stated, "and we're going to do it. When Reagan messed with the railroad budget, he got a tiger by the tail."

If the cuts go through, Archual told the meeting, 22,000 Amtrak jobs will be lost and up to 55,000 Conrail jobs.

"Railroads are subsidized by the government in every country in the world—why not the United States?" Archual asked.

Mismanagement of Conrail and Amtrak drew special fire from Archual.

"They tell us that labor wrecked Conrail and Amtrak. But labor did not wreck Conrail and Amtrak. Mismanagement wrecked both of them," Archual told the applauding workers.

The annual budget for the 7,000 Conrail management employees totals \$274 million, Archual explained.

Toward the end of Archual's talk workers from the floor began to demand, "What are we going to do about it, Al?"

Archual responded, "We've got to

band together and get there (to April 29) in numbers Washington has never seen before."

Archual then introduced Don Sweitzer, a top legislative director for BRAC who is organizing the April 29 demonstration for the coalition of sponsoring rail unions.

"It has become apparent that Reagan's budget cuts will go through Congress by June, much sooner than other years," Sweitzer said.

"We have to do something very quickly, we have to demonstrate."

Taking the microphone again, Archual said that April 29 was not a strike, and told BRAC members not to call in sick that day. "If you do," he said, "you can be disciplined by the company and you should be disciplined by the company."

Archual then ended the meeting

before the promised question period.

Despite the anger over Archual's stand, the meeting strengthened New York rail workers in their efforts to get all their union sisters and brothers to Washington on April 29.

### LA meet backs action

LOS ANGELES—The April 29 demonstrations against rail cutbacks organized by the Rail Labor Executives Association won the endorsement April 11 of more than 250 trade unionists and antinuclear activists at the first Southern California Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

## Balanoff in close contest

# District 31 union race: a test of strength

By Jon Hillson

CHICAGO—With six weeks to go before the May 28 election in the United Steelworkers of America, the contest for director of the union's biggest district looks close.

The campaign in District 31 is a test of strength between the administration of USWA international president Lloyd McBride and union activists who favor more democratic, militant policies.

Incumbent James Balanoff faces a stiff challenge from Jack Parton, president of Local 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works.

Parton has heavily outspent Balanoff. The McBride officialdom has lined up the overwhelming majority of the district's staff as Parton campaigners.

During the month of March the locals nominated candidates for district director. Only a small fraction of the 110,000 members in District 31 voted in the nominating elections.

### Local nominations

Balanoff received 87 nominations.

Parton garnered the endorsement of 163 locals. But most of these locals are small, and are strongly influenced by the staff representatives who service them.

A number of local union officials who in past years supported Balanoff or the 1977 international presidential bid of Ed Sadlowski, defected to the Parton campaign.

But the defections did not fundamentally alter Balanoff's support among activists.

Parton got the backing of eleven of thirteen executive board members and three of four caucuses in Local 65 at U.S. Steel South Works. With all of that, he won the nomination by a margin of only six percent. His backers had predicted as much as a three-to-one blowout.

The bitterly fought nomination contest there was capped by shift meetings of 200 and 500 workers, the largest in recent memory. Balanoff won the morning meeting, while Parton took the later one. At that meeting, Parton backers hooted down Balanoff, shedding light on their concept of union democracy.

At Local 1033 at Republic Steel, where Parton forces controlled a big majority of the executive board and grievance committee, Balanoff stunned them with a 344 to 222 romp.

A huge Parton investment at Local 1010 at Inland Steel, Balanoff's home local, was supposed to yield a virtual "draw," according to Parton campaign leader Wally Hartman. Balanoff won



Militant/Stu Singer

Steelworkers District 31 director James Balanoff at Chicago campaign rally.

the nomination by 1508 to 838.

Parton pulled off one upset. Production workers at the Northern Indiana Public Service Company (NIPSCO) Local 12775 voted 293-290 for Parton. A big absentee ballot effort by Parton's forces caught the pro-Balanoff local leadership unprepared.

Balanoff won the nomination from the clerical local at NIPSCO. He is respected by NIPSCO workers in both locals for his active support of their recent strike.

### Late start

At a district-wide campaign meeting April 5, Balanoff told 150 unionists that a late start and the lack of organization, planning, and preparation that marked the early stages of the campaign had to be turned around.

Balanoff said that such problems resulted in needless losses of local nominations to Parton.

According to participants in the meeting, the common feeling was that Balanoff had a good chance to win, provided the campaign got out the ideas he stood for.

This task is important because Parton is relatively unknown in the district, and his campaign has been fashioned to turn his image into that of a progressive, socially conscious ally of the rank and file.

This is not Parton's record in Local 1014.

Balanoff is still pushing the platform on which he was elected four years ago: against "country club unionism," for the right for steelworkers to vote on their contract, and to have the right to strike.

This puts Balanoff at odds with the McBride officialdom.

And Balanoff is involved in political issues where the McBride leadership is silent.

In the last several months, Balanoff has endorsed a Chicago protest against U.S. aid to the Salvadoran junta; supported the March 28 union-led anti-nuclear march of 15,000 in Harrisburg; and marched on picket lines against plant shutdowns.

He spoke at a memorial meeting for the slain Black children in Atlanta; and will speak at a demonstration in Burns Harbor, Indiana, on April 25 against construction of the proposed Bailly nuclear power plant.

Parton shies away from or opposes such activity.

### Union members want answers

Balanoff addresses concerns that are on the minds of working people. For a fuller view of this, I talked to Pat Grogan, a member of Local 65 and a Balanoff campaign supporter.

Grogan has worked in the plate mill at U.S. Steel South Works for four

years and is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party

She puts the Balanoff-Parton race in the larger picture of what's happening in the United States and in the labor movement in general.

The election of Ronald Reagan and his step-up of Carter's anti-labor, pro-war policies has met with "anger, outrage, and disgust," Grogan says. "And union members want some answers about what to do. They see the potential power of the Steelworkers and they want to know how to use it."

### Look to coal miners

One answer is coming from the coal miners, she says. "Reagan wanted to cut their black lung benefits so the United Mine Workers Union struck for two days and marched on Washington in protest. The coal operators gave them a contract that weakened their union so they voted it down and decided to fight. That's an inspiration to steelworkers," Grogan said.

"It's hard to find a USWA member who supports another Vietnam anywhere, who likes what Reagan is doing to the economy, who's not concerned about the murders in Atlanta. Steelworkers are discussing ideas about how the unions should organize our own political party, a labor party," she told the *Militant*.

"That," she said, "is the real sentiment in the mills. Balanoff's strength really lies in being more open to those ideas and responding to them."

The progressive positions Balanoff has taken need to be more "widely publicized in the district, so that larger numbers of workers will know what Balanoff stands for. The campaign needs to step out more in front to leave no doubt about Balanoff's views. This will force Parton to show his real colors.

"Balanoff will stand up to the companies more. There's more of an atmosphere of free discussion with him as district director. Parton would jeopardize this.

"Now," Grogan adds, "rank and filers are looking to the unions to begin the fight and to lead it like the miners, like the railroad workers, like the workers in Poland."

"Our union has to be openly and actively on the side of the fightback against all the attacks working people face."

"That," Grogan says, "will do more than ensure a Balanoff election victory. It will be another step towards making the Steelworkers the kind of fighting organization it must be in the 1980s if the labor movement's going to survive."

## Ford River Rouge pay cut: 'it's blackmail'

By Elizabeth Ziers

DETROIT—In yet another contract violation, Ford Motor Company blackmailed its 5,000 River Rouge steelworkers into accepting a wage cut on March 13.

Members of United Auto Workers Local 600 were presented with the following ultimatum: "Take a pay cut or give up 3,200 jobs."

Ford's initial demand for a 50 percent reduction in incentive pay was delivered to workers by Detroit's news media on March 7.

Ford is the ninth largest producer of steel in the United States. The company contended that the Rouge steel division workers were overpaid, that

they "averaged \$3.91 an hour" in incentive pay for meeting increased production goals.

The top leadership of Local 600 met with Ford management and agreed to a 20 percent cut in incentive pay.

Motivating the giveback, Ernest Lofton, vice president of Local 600, told the press, "Basically, no worker likes to give up money or give up benefits. But we were faced with the stark reality . . . that 3,200 jobs would be gone. It doesn't take an Einstein to make a decision in regard to that."

But Al Gardner, president of the tool and die unit of Local 600, attacked the giveback in a leaflet urging a no vote.

"What has happened in the incentive area was not negotiations," he wrote, "it was blackmail. Ford put a gun to the heads of steelworkers and said that 3,200 workers would be laid off if a 13% cut in total weekly earnings was not accepted . . .

"Even if workers vote yes there are no guarantees against layoffs," he

said.

More than 2,000 of the 5,000 workers didn't bother to vote. The count was 2,195 for the pay cut, 718 against. Only 40 percent voted for the take-back.

These workers will lose an average of \$33 each week and there is no feeling of job security in the plant—either in the short or long run.

Was another solution possible?

Ford is not broke. The company just announced plans to pay out \$36 million in cash to stockholders.

Bob King, president of the maintenance and construction unit of Local 600 pointed out that the steel division has been very profitable for Ford.

Local 600 does not have to take these attacks without a fight.

The local has 24,000 members in all. But no local-wide union meeting was organized to even consider the alternatives.

Last year when McLouth Steel Company in Detroit demanded a one-year

wage freeze, the USWA members went out on strike. After three days the company signed a new contract that included a pay increase.

Local 600 has some powerful bargaining chips on its side.

The only Ford car which is selling strongly now is the subcompact Escort/Lynx. Its 1.6 liter engines—all of them—are produced in the River Rouge Dearborn Engine Plant, by workers pulling nine- and ten-hour shifts.

Many Escort/Lynx parts are cut and sub-assembled at the Dearborn Stamping Plant, also by workers working overtime.

All this work is done by members of the UAW Local 600. A strong stand against Ford's take-it-or-leave-it scheme could have been discussed and organized out of a local-wide meeting. Certainly, a sounder response to Ford's extortion deal could have been worked out if all the local's members had been able to actively share the facts and present proposals.

Elizabeth Ziers is a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 and works at River Rouge. She is the Socialist Workers Party candidate in Michigan's Fourth Congressional District.

# Iron Range steel union candidates debate

By Rich Stuart

VIRGINIA, Minnesota—The important issues in this year's election for director of Steelworkers District 33 were the subject of a heated debate April 8 at a meeting here of USWA Local 1938.

District 33 sprawls from the upper peninsula of Michigan to Wyoming, and includes Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana, and northern Wisconsin. A large majority of the district's 34,000 members work in iron ore, taconite, uranium, and gold mines.

Approximately 11,000 miners work on the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota, the scene of a bitter 138-day strike in 1977. The strike took on the big steel companies which own the iron mines. It won the miners' demand for parity with other workers in basic steel.

Mining has been hard-hit by layoffs and closings. There are now 7,000 laid-off members in District 33. At the height of the layoffs last year, half of the miners on the Iron Range were out of work or on shortened workweeks. Economic uncertainty has raised steelworkers' interest in the union elections.

Four candidates won a spot on the May 28 ballot. Sixty-three-year-old Linus Wampler, the incumbent director, received about twenty nominations. He is being challenged by thirty-eight-year-old Joe Samargia, who received eleven nominations. Samargia is president of Local 1938 at the U.S. Steel Minntac mine, the largest local in the district.

Also running are Paul Gravedoni, president of Local 4950 in Michigan, who received eleven nominations; and Eldon Kirsch, a union staff member, who got over fifty nominations.

Wampler, Samargia, and Kirsch participated in the April 8 debate before the members of Local 1938.

Samargia was the central leader of the 1977 iron miners' strike. He strongly backed Ed Sadlowski's challenge to "official family" candidate Lloyd McBride in the 1977 elections for union president. Although McBride won, Sadlowski carried the Iron Range by a wide margin.

Wampler was elected director in 1977 as a supporter of Sadlowski, when the miners kicked out incumbent Peter Benzoni.

Kirsch introduced himself in the debate by saying, "Joe and I are as far apart as anybody could be." Kirsch was the campaign manager for both McBride and Benzoni in District 33.

### Behind Kirsch

Kirsch's campaign represents an attempt by the McBride forces to regain control of District 33. One of Kirsch's campaign themes is that he would be more compatible with the international leadership than Samargia.

His campaign material says, "Brother Eldon is in concert with the International Union and is at peace with its goals and objectives."

Another section of this campaign flier, in an apparent swipe at Samargia, reads, "More importantly, Eldon is not a radical. He is patriotic and loves his country, his union and the American way."

The nominations won by Wampler and Gravedoni come from their traditional bases of support. For Wampler this is the western states, where he had been an official of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers union before it merged with the Steelworkers. Gravedoni's support is from the upper peninsula of Michigan.

The large number of nominations for Kirsch reflects the active support and hefty financial backing of full-time union staff people across the district.

But the nomination totals are deceptive. Only about 2 per cent of union members vote in the nominations meetings. The participation in the May 28 election promises to be much higher.

Some of the locals nominating Samargia indicate the strength of his bid. He was nominated in Local 1938 by more than a twelve-to-one margin over Kirsch. At Inland Steel's mine in Virginia, one of the smallest on the range, Samargia won the nomination even though ten of eleven local executive board members supported Kirsch.

Samargia was also nominated by workers at the Cornelius Company, members of the largest Steelworkers local in the Twin Cities. One of the most important nominations came from the members of the North Star Steel local in St. Paul, who just com-

pleted a long, hard strike.

Samargia described his disagreements with Lloyd McBride as over specific issues where he sees McBride in conflict with the interests of the union rank and file. The best example is over the method of contract ratification. The present procedure has the contract approved by a secret ballot vote of local union presidents.

Samargia has fought to win the right of the members to ratify the contract. McBride and Kirsch oppose membership ratification.

During the debate, Samargia said, "They tell us we're not smart enough to vote on our contract. But look at the coal miners. They told them to stick it because they knew they would have been shafted. Steelworkers are just as smart as coal miners. Who's

smarter than you? Nobody knows better than you what you want."

In their opening remarks both Samargia and Wampler called for a fight to win a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay as a way to solve the unemployment crisis.

Samargia called plant closings and shutdowns, "the single most important issue facing steelworkers today. There are eleven million unemployed and it's getting worse. . . . We saw the Polish workers, when meat prices went up, go on strike. But our leadership sits on its hands when there are eleven million unemployed."

Kirsch offered no proposals to deal with plant closings and layoffs.

### Solidarity

Local 1938 has a reputation for representing militant, socially conscious unionism. Union meetings frequently discuss how to respond to the attacks on working people from the corporations and the government. The key word in these discussions has been solidarity.

For example, during the North Star Steel strike, Local 1938 raised \$6,000 for the strikers and sent a bus 200 miles south to St. Paul to a strike support rally.

In recent months the local sponsored a conference on plant closings and a meeting for Vietnam veterans on the dangers of Agent Orange. The local helped initiate the first women's conference ever in District 33.

During the debate, Kirsch attacked Wampler for allowing the women's conference to happen. "If I'm elected district director, there will be no women's conferences, and there will be no Indian conferences, no Spanish-American conferences, no laborers' conferences, and no electricians' conferences. We're going to have conferences for steelworkers! . . . I'm against women's harassment, but men get harassed too."

### El Salvador

Recognizing that solidarity extends to workers beyond the borders of the United States, Local 1938 has thrown a lot of time and money into building a rally on the Iron Range against U.S. involvement in El Salvador.

A member of the local asked Kirsch why he didn't support the rally. Kirsch responded, "First of all, I want to find out where all those guns are coming from, going into El Salvador. Is it the Commie Party? We'd better take a look at it. If the Commie Party is messing around in there, then we'd better help out."

Samargia said, "If Eldon wants to know where the guns are coming from, he should ask Al Haig. The right wing in El Salvador is killing workers. When a Catholic bishop is killed . . ." (Someone in the audience shouted, "He must have been a commie too, Joe.")

Samargia continued, "If the U.S. hadn't been pouring arms in there and instead gave a helping hand, maybe we wouldn't be in a war with 10,000 killed. But that's what this government's been doing."

Samargia received an ovation when he pointed out he is not alone in running for district director against McBride supporters.

"The rank-and-file movement in the United Steelworkers of America is growing. Eldon Kirsch says he has a pipeline to the International. That he'll be with the boys. Well, there are eight rank-and-file candidates for district director on the ballot and we're going to have a national campaign. And if we get in, the boys are going to have to start listening."

The reaction of one union member seemed to sum up the enthusiasm aroused by the debate: "I wish we could take what we heard here tonight all over the district."



Steelworkers Local 1938 members heard District 33 director candidates (above, left to right) Eldon Kirsch, Joe Samargia, and Linus Wampler.

## Rally says no junta aid

By Anne Zukowski

VIRGINIA, Minn.—Over 200 people rallied here on the Iron Range April 11 to hear union, church and political leaders demand an end to U.S. aid to the El Salvador junta.

Kevin Fahey, a leader of United Steelworkers Local 1938 who chaired the rally, declared, "Even as we assemble here today, the murders and violations of basic human rights continue in El Salvador."

Joe Samargia, President of Local 1938, which represents over 4,000 miners at the huge U.S. Steel Minntac mine, outlined the worldwide struggle by working people against oppression. He pointed to the fight by Polish workers against the Polish and Soviet bureaucrats, and the coal miners standing up against the coal operators in this country.

In each of these situations, Samargia explained, working people have the union behind them. But in El Salvador they haven't won the basic right to be represented by trade unions. "Around

the world, it's always right-wing, repressive governments that are keeping down working people. And that has to stop in El Salvador," Samargia concluded.

Sister Cecilia Corcoran, who lived for nine years in El Salvador, pointed to the U.S. government's callous disregard for human life and its manipulation of the news media. "Who will believe the simple peasant rather than a 'white paper' document?" she asked.

Also speaking at the rally were Congressman James Oberstar; Bishop Paul Anderson of the Catholic Diocese of Duluth; County Commissioner Tom Anzelc; Elizabeth Kilanowski, vice president of Iron Range National Organization for Women; and Mary Anderson, Mayor of Kinney. Virginia Mayor Jalmer Johnson gave welcoming remarks.

The rally, which had been endorsed by a wide range of figures, including the mayors of many towns on the Iron Range, received extensive coverage in the news media.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Might be overqualified**—Mexico has taken a dim view of Reagan selecting John Gavin, an actor, to be ambassador to that country. But a list of his qualifications, as reported by AP, includes the fact that "he has served as a spokesman for Bank of America in television commercials."

**Atoms for peace?**—A worker at a French uranium processing plant was sentenced to nine months for placing several capsules of uranium grains under the driver's seat of his boss's car. The worker explained he just wanted to frighten the boss, "and

make him sick so he would leave us in peace for a while."

**Self-portrait?**—Secretary of State Haig says that merely because he favored a hands-off attitude on the aborted military coup in Spain, some people think he's not for democracy. Anyone who says this, the ex-general declared, "is either not very bright or terribly mischievous." Or perhaps like him, a bit of both.

**R & R**—What with the recent attempted military coup, King Juan Carlos of Spain may need a bit of a breather. So he's looking forward to

delivery of the yacht being built for him at a Wisconsin yard. \$2 million.

**Oil is thicker than blood**—Scott Hinckley, brother of the man charged with the attempted assassination of Reagan doubts that what happened will have a serious affect on the family's oil drilling business. "We're drilling wells that require commitments of up to \$1 million," he explained, and such commitments are made for "business, not personal, reasons."

**Positive experience**—In an interview, the *Wall Street Journal* asked

banker David Rockefeller if he ever wished he weren't a Rockefeller. He replied, "At times there are aspects of it that one isn't happy with, but on balance I think the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages."

**Only in America**—A California engineer has designed a \$10,000 "electronic tombstone" which will play prerecorded tapes of the deceased. And it's operated by solar energy. The inventor feels rock stars and others will want to include the gadget in burial arrangements. "It's an ego trip," he said.

## Union Talk

### Transit workers: proud to wear green ribbons

This week's column is by Raúl González, a New York City transit worker who belongs to Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union.

Ralph leaned back in his chair and looked up into space, "You know," he said thoughtfully, "if you took any 100 men in here you'd find a tremendous talent. They're a very talented group of guys here. They're machinists, and carpenters, and mechanics and electricians."

"And some poets and musicians and organizers," I added. Ralph sat and for a while thought of broader vistas.

The canvas curtain of the shack moved and three men I hadn't seen before walked in and asked Ralph and I if this was the 30 pit shack. "This is it," Ralph said. "Is González here? The sign said we should come see him for some of the green ribbon." I got up and cut them strips of the ribbon and handed each one of the green and silver buttons which carry the initials of our union—TWU. We are among the 35,000 members of Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union, which organizes the New York subway and bus system.

I work in the inspection barn at the Coney Island Yard. With 107 tracks, it is the largest rail yard in the Americas. I don't know these men because they are from the Main Shop, which is in a separate building from my barn. Two of them were white, the other a Black. They asked me for a few extra

ribbons and buttons for the men on the other side.

The day before, I had been walking through the Main Shop on my way out of work when I saw one of the leaflets the union put out on Atlanta. "Wear a Green Ribbon to Remember Atlanta's Victims," it said in bold type.

Underneath that, it said, "To express their support, all TWUers are urged to wear a green ribbon with their TWU lapel pin." It listed the names of nineteen of the dead children and lists one other as missing. The leaflet was prepared before the latest victims were found.

The next day I went and put one up in our barn and got some union buttons from the union shack. I'd been passing out ribbons for a couple of weeks before this, so the steward figured I should be the distributor.

Since the leaflet went up about the green ribbons, dozens of workers have come up to me. Within two days of putting up the sign, half the barn was wearing green ribbons and the union button. It looks a little incongruous—the clean bright ribbon on the jackets of men who are covered with black steel dust from the trains, wearing our hard hats with the lights on top.

At practically each toll booth in the city, a green ribbon hangs in the window.

From the conductors, to the porters, to the car cleaners, thousands of TWUers are wearing the green ribbons. In Philadelphia they had to fight for the right to wear them. Here we wear them as we please.

It's the second day since the leaflet went up. I have passed out two rolls of ribbon and dozens of buttons.

My partner and I have just finished sequencing and power testing a car. As I climb down from the cab a group of car cleaners ask me for green ribbons. I cut the strips. One of the men says, "They can send marines to El Salvador, but they can't do anything about Atlanta."

"We need some marines in Atlanta," a woman says.

They take the ribbons and the union buttons and ask for more. What's good for their work clothes is good for the street. My pockets are getting empty.

Lunchtime rolls around and I hear the foreman paging Ralph on the P.A. system. I know he's standing outside catching the rays of a weak sun. It's cold. I join Ralph and two others outside. Ralph lights a ball of steel wool on fire and it keeps us warm.

"Have you got some ribbon?" a worker from the Caribbean asks. The other asks for some too. It's for the kids in Atlanta," he says "because the cops aren't doing enough."

"Yeah, let me have some too," Ralph says. "I guess if a hundred or so of us wear it, it could help. If nothing else, it'll help us. Draw us together."

"And what if 35,000 wear it?" one says and laughs.

I am proud to cut them pieces of green ribbon.

## What's Going On

### ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM

**STOP HLA! A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE IS IN DANGER.** Speakers: Emily Norton, National Organization for Women; Stephen Palmer, Alabamians for Free Choice; Lea Sherman, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 25, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. South. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS' DEMOCRACY IN POLAND AND THE SOVIET WORKING CLASS.** Speaker: Bohdan Krawchenko, professor of political science, University of Alberta. Fri., April 24, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

### SAN DIEGO

**WHAT'S REALLY HAPPENING IN POLAND?** An eyewitness account and slide show presentation. Speaker: Betsy McDonald, member Socialist Workers Party, United Steelworkers Local 3937. Sun., April 26, 3 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant and Perspectiva Mundial Forums. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

### INDIANA GARY

**GRENADA: TWO YEARS OF REVOLUTION: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT ON THE FIRST FREE BLACK NATION IN THE CARIBBEAN.** Speakers: Adrienne Kaplan, Socialist Workers Party; Kim Kleinman, SWP. Slide show of their recent visit. Fri., April

24, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

### KENTUCKY LOUISVILLE

**THE COAL STRIKE: HIGH STAKES FOR ALL WORKING PEOPLE.** Speaker: Dinah Grady, member, United Mine Workers now on strike, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 25, 7:30 p.m. 131 W. Main (2nd and Main). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

**EL SALVADOR, THE NEXT VIETNAM?** A panel discussion with representatives from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Oxfam; and John Moriarty, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., April 26, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN DETROIT

**SIXTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF EASTER REBELLION: THE IRISH FREEDOM STRUGGLE TODAY.** Speakers: Maria Batrow, Flint Irish National Caucus; representative of Committee to Support Irish Political Prisoners. Sun., April 26, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

**EVOLUTION VS CREATIONISM, IN DEFENSE OF SCIENTIFIC THINKING.** Speaker: Ralph Schwartz, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., April 26, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND.** Two classes by Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., 11 a.m.: "The Origins of Slavery." Sun., 11 a.m.: "Slavery in the U.S." Sat., 8 p.m.: Rally for Workers' Rights. A rally in support of the socialist lawsuit against the government. Sat.-Sun., April 25-26. Plaza Room, University of Missouri Kansas City. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

**TWO YEARS OF REVOLUTION IN IRAN.** Speaker: Fatima Fallahi, member, Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE). Sun., April 26, 7:30 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

### NEW YORK MANHATTAN

**WORKERS RESPOND TO REAGAN BUDGET CUTS.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., April 24, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

### OHIO CLEVELAND

**MEANING OF THE 1981 MINERS' STRIKE.** Speaker: Nancy Mackler, United Mine Workers Local 1702. Sat., April 25, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

### PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

**CRISIS IN THE SCHOOLS.** Speakers: John Murray, president, Philadelphia Federation of Teachers; striking teacher from Community College; Haskell Herman, member, Philadelphia Federation of Teachers and Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., April 26, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

### TEXAS SAN ANTONIO

**grenada: BLACK REVOLUTION IN THE CARIBBEAN.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., April 24, 8 p.m. 1406 N. Flores. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 222-8398.

### UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

**POLAND: WHAT WORKERS ARE FIGHTING FOR.** Speaker: Dave Hurst, chair, Salt Lake City Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., April 25, 7 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 677 S. 7th East. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1125.



### 'Right-to-lifers'—enemies of life

The following are excerpts from a column that appeared in the April 9 'New York Times', entitled 'Hers' by Mary Kay Blakely.

The priest and I are having lunch together, to plan a program in which I'm to be the main speaker. He is telling me, as tactfully as possible, to be prepared for some hostility in the audience.

The hostility will come from the local "pro-life" groups. It is 1981, in Fort Wayne, Ind. . . .

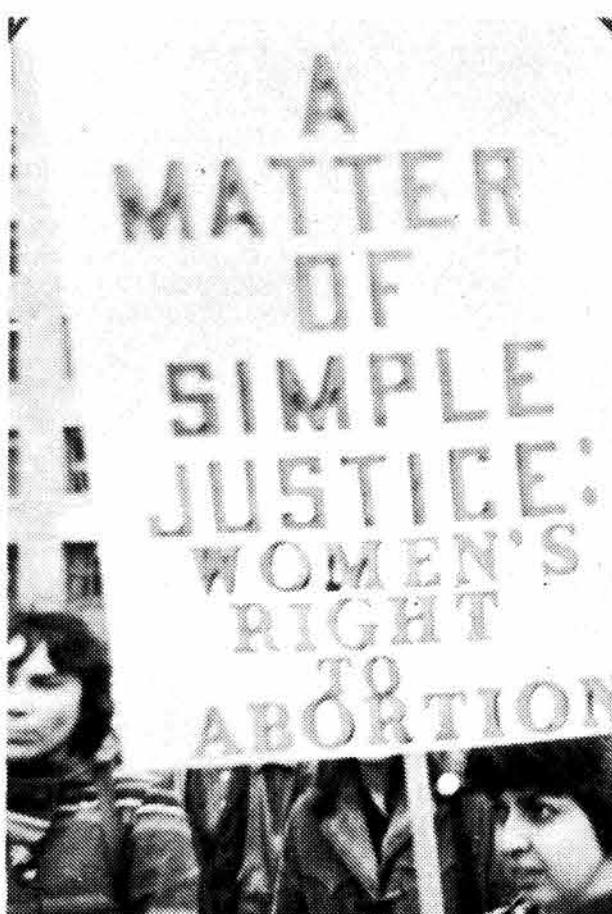
While he is drawing the battle lines between the "pro-life" and "pro-choice" sides of the abortion issue, I retreat into my salad, reminded of the uselessness of words.

"Pro-life" is the euphemism chosen by the people whose definition of life is purely fetal. Life, for them, is a concept that stops dead at birth. They are the people who hang around the back doors of the clinic on Webster Street, hoping to catch a picture of undeveloped fetal tissue in the garbage cans in the alley. They have no compassion for the fully developed lives on the other side of the building, the women whose circumstances have brought them to the front door.

\* \* \*

Moving his coffee cup to the middle of the table, the priest inquires about the possibility of common ground. Can't either side move an inch toward agreement, compromise, concession? I seriously doubt it. . . .

I choose to side with women, because they will have the responsibility for the results of that decision, and I trust their ability to weigh the alternatives carefully. The "pro-life" side picks fetuses, because they judge life to be "innocent," and because they have little confidence in the moral judgement of women. These women have, after all, "gotten themselves pregnant," as one state legislator put it. They have obviously sinned and are



deserving of punishment. . . .

The zealous local chapter of the Nurses Concerned for Life taunted and harassed the clients of the Webster Street clinic. They blockaded the entrance, and intimidated a young woman into the public bathroom facilities of a neighborhood McDonald's. . . . Two summers ago, the "pro-life" picketers at the clinic blocked the exit during a bomb threat, preventing the evacuation of the patients

within. . . .

The "pro-life, pro-family, pro-God" lobbies are, often, "against": against any legislation that insures individual rights above family authority, even child protection laws (because, as one minister said, it interfered with a father's right to discipline his children); against Indiana Senate Bill 118, which called for prenatal care to pregnant teen-agers (because it was offered without parental consent); against programs for child care and sex education and adolescent counseling (because those responsibilities belong to the family, not the state); against funds for a local shelter for battered women (because, as one township trustee said, he would "break down any door" placed between his wife and him). . . .

My luncheon companion nods his head, agreeing that abortion is a humane alternative. But he can't understand the great number of abortions each year. . . .

It's convenient for him not to believe that behind the gross number there is that much poverty, that much despair, that much rape, that much incest, that much woman-battering. It's easier to believe that the number of abortions each year attests to the immorality of women, thus shifting the responsibility from the culture collectively to women alone.

\* \* \*

I understand that one of us can get pregnant and one of us can't. One of us is threatened with an amendment that would usurp the most profoundly personal decision of a lifetime, and one of us isn't. One of us will face a venomous assault from the "pro-lifers" and one of us won't. One of us can get up from the table and not give the abortion issue another thought, and one of us can't forget it at all.

Yes, I understand. One of us can afford to be dispassionate and apolitical and purely cerebral, and one of us can't.

## Our Revolutionary Heritage

### Emiliano Zapata and the Mexican revolution

Emiliano Zapata was born in 1879, the son of a small farmer from the village of Anenecuilco in Morelos, Mexico. At the age of thirty he was elected to defend the economic and social interests of his village



Emiliano Zapata, 1914

before the government.

A year later he became the leader of the Liberator Army of the South of Mexico, which participated in the great revolution that began with the overthrow of dictator Porfirio Díaz. This peasant rebel army fought for ten years to win the demands of the 1910 revolution. On April 10, 1919, Zapata was killed by enemies of the revolution.

In 1910 Mexico was dominated by large landed estates called *haciendas*. The *haciendados* controlled not only the lives of the *campesinos* (peasants) who labored for them, but also controlled the political, economic, and social decisions of the country.

Zapata in the South and Pancho Villa in the North formed revolutionary armies that set out to change this tyrannical rule. They were fighting for land for the *campesinos*, for peace, social justice, and economic equality.

"The land free, the land free for all. Land without overseers and without masters. Such is the war-cry of a revolution that is directed against the *haciendado*," Zapata explained.

In 1910 the *zapatistas* joined forces led by Francisco Madero, son of a wealthy *haciendado*, to overthrow Díaz. But soon after the revolution Madero and the provisional government began to back away from the promises they made. They called for the disarming of the *zapatistas*.

Federal troops were sent into Morelos. Zapata refused to disarm his troops. Finally Madero met with Zapata, promising him an *hacienda* if he would just withdraw from his revolutionary activities.

Zapata refused to be bought off. "We do not want the peace of slaves nor the peace of the grave," he said. "We want peace based on liberty, on the political and agrarian reform promised by our political creed. We are incapable of trafficking with the blood of our brothers."

Madero was assassinated after a military coup in

1913. The new regime set out to crush the revolution.

The *zapatistas*, along with the troops of Pancho Villa and a third force, led by Venustiano Carranza, overthrew the military regime in 1914. The capital, Mexico City, changed hands several times between Zapata's forces and those of Carranza. In 1915 the *zapatistas* evacuated the capital.

Although many reforms were made, Carranza refused to meet the most important demands of the peasants. He carried out raids on Zapata's army through 1918, killing peasants and destroying crops. It was one of Carranza's colonels that murdered Zapata.

The fight of the *zapatistas* was directed against U.S. imperialism, as well as against the landlords and military oppressors. It was a fight for all the workers and peasants. They actively sought the support of the workers in the cities.

It was also an international fight. *Zapatistas* traveled to Cuba, Europe, and the United States, seeking support from workers there.

When the Russian workers and peasants overthrew the czar and later formed their own government, led by the Bolsheviks, Zapata was inspired. He identified with their victory and particularly with the fight of the peasants.

In a letter a year before he was killed, Zapata wrote:

"Much would we gain, much would human justice gain, if all the people of our America and all the nations of old Europe should understand that the cause of revolutionary Mexico and the cause of Russia, the unredeemed, are and represent the cause of humanity, the supreme interest of all oppressed people."

"... the proletariat of the world applauds and admires the Russian Revolution in the same manner as it will lend its complete adhesion, sympathy, and support to the Mexican revolution once it fully comprehends its objectives."

—Priscilla Schenk



# THE MILITANT

## Rally against Atlanta murders set for Washington May 25

By Carlos Williams

ATLANTA—The May 25 march on Washington to protest the killings of Black children in Atlanta is winning national support from the labor and civil rights movements.

The action has been called by the Committee to Stop Children's Murders, a group formed here in response to the slayings and disappearances of the children.

With the toll now at twenty-three Black youth slain and two more missing—and not a single arrest by the Atlanta cops or FBI—such an action is clearly needed. Thousands have already demonstrated around the country against the racist refusal of the government to stop the killers, linking the murders in Atlanta to anti-Black terror in many other cities.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Lenora Laken, a staff member of the committee, said labor endorsement for the May 25 rally already includes William Lucy, head of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; District 65 of the United Auto Workers in New York; and Communications Workers of America Local 1023 in Atlanta.

Laken said as many people as possible should come to Washington, by bus, car, plane, or train.

The committee has also announced that Coretta Scott King, Andrew Young, and Rev. Joseph Lowery are backing the action.

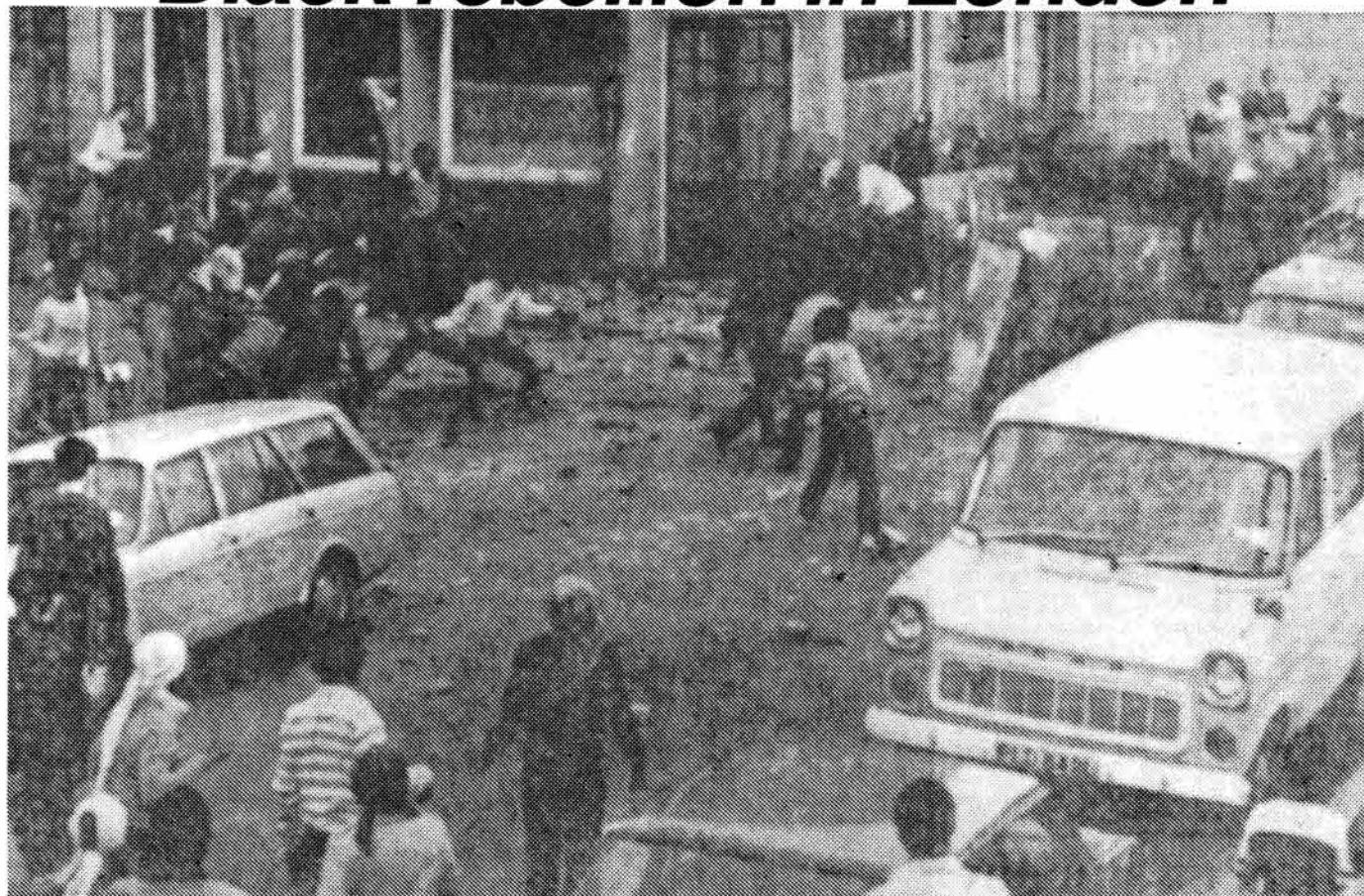
The National Black Independent Political Party endorsed the march at a national leadership gathering of party delegates held in Memphis April 10-12.

The April 13 *Atlanta Journal* announced plans for May 25 in a major front-page story headlined "D.C. rally set for slain kids."

Ralph Worrel, national coordinator for the rally, said the theme of the action is "Rendezvous for Life's Sake." He said the rally site will be the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., Mayor Marion Barry will be one of the speakers.

Organizations and individuals from some twenty-four cities have already contacted the committee's office here

### Black rebellion in London



For two days, more than 1,000 British riot police occupied the Brixton section of south London in an attempt to crush a rebellion of the West Indian community there.

The upsurge began on the night of April 10 when cops flooded the area after "a misunderstanding about police treatment" of a Black West Indian youth, according to the April 13 *Washington Post*.

At least twenty-nine Blacks were injured and nearly 200 were arrested. Police claim 165 of their ranks were injured by rocks and bottles as they advanced on

crowds, which included some whites. Fires destroyed cars, police vans, and two dozen buildings.

The rebellion "was the culmination of issues of frustration, unemployment, homelessness and alienation and confrontation with the police," said Courtenay Laws, leader of the Brixton Community Association.

Most Brixton residents are immigrant or British-born Black workers.

The area has a jobless rate of over 20 percent, double the national average.

"Everywhere I go, the cops stop me and ask for an I.D.," said one Brixton youth. "You can't be considered law-abiding if your face is Black."

Only two weeks ago, London papers quoted Enoch Powell, a member of Parliament from Northern Ireland, calling for all Blacks to be expelled from Britain.

Members of ultraright groups like the British Movement and Column 88 have terrorized Blacks on the streets and attacked their homes.

for more information.

The May 25 rally can galvanize the pressure needed to force the government in Atlanta and Washington to

stop these murders. For more information, contact the Committee to Stop Children's Murders, 859½ Martin Luther King Drive, Atlanta, Georgia

30314. Telephone: (404) 525-STOP. Or call District 65 of the UAW, 13 Astor Place, New York, New York 10008. Telephone: (212) 673-5120 ext. 230.

### Outrage over FBI racist attack

ATLANTA—In a new attempt to slander those fighting to stop the murder of Black youth here, FBI agent Mike Twibell of Macon, Georgia, charged April 14 that four of the dead children were killed by their parents. He offered no evidence.

His racist remarks drew immediate outrage from Atlanta's Black community.

But not from city hall or the police. Neither the cops nor city officials objected to the racist attack on parents of the victims. The police said the FBI was hurting their "investigation." City councilman John Sweet complained that the FBI agent's statement damaged the "credibility of our government."

### Irish hunger striker wins election

The Irish liberation movement scored a major victory April 10 when Bobby Sands, a twenty-seven-year-old political prisoner, was elected to the British Parliament.

British officials, who had prevented

Sands from presenting his views during the election campaign, also refused to allow him to comment on his victory.

But as Danny Morrison, one of the organizers of Sands's campaign, put it: "This has finally proved through the ballot box how deep the support is for the republican prisoners. The people have spoken on behalf of the Irish nation."

Sands received 30,492 votes in the by-election, held in the rural Fermanagh/South Tyrone constituency in the southwest corner of Northern Ireland. His opponent, Harry West, a proimperialist Protestant (Unionist) politician, got 29,046 votes.

One of the most important aspects of Sands's victory is that it will help focus international attention on the conditions of Irish political prisoners in the H-Block of Long Kesh Prison and the Armagh jail for women.

As the elected camp commander of

the republican prisoners in H-Block, Sands, a member of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA), negotiated with the authorities during a fifty-three-day hunger strike that ended December 18. However, the British reneged on the agreements made at that time, and as a result Sands initiated a new hunger strike on March 1. He had already gone forty-one days without food when his election was announced on April 10.

\* \* \*

NEW YORK—"By electing Bobby Sands, we've thrown the lie back in the teeth of [British Prime Minister] Thatcher that there is no support to the blanket men and to the women in Armagh," declared Cathleen Gallagher. Gallagher, a representative of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee in Ireland, was addressing a meeting of 100 at the Irish Institute here.